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THE JOHN MURRAY ARCHIVE, 1820s-1840s: (RE)ESTABLISHING THE  
HOUSE IDENTITY

By


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The University of Edinburgh  
for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree of professional qualification.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kirsten Banks', with a stylized, cursive script.

Kirsten Banks

23<sup>rd</sup> December 2013

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the continuing growth of the House of Murray during the 1820s-1840s. Prior to the 1820s, Murray had enjoyed massive success with the publications of the work of Lord Byron, whose celebrity, and the profits generated, contributed significantly to the House's prestigious reputation. Murray's move from Fleet Street to Albemarle Street in 1812 also signified the House's shift from bookselling to publishing, which enabled Murray to attract an increasing number of high-profile names from the worlds of literature, travel and exploration, the sciences, and politics. Murray's drawing-room at Albemarle Street became renowned throughout the trade for its gentlemanly gatherings, comprising of the luminaries of the day.

The four chapters of this thesis explore how Murray (re)established the House identity in different markets during the 1820s-1840s, as the Romantic epoch diffused into an increasingly commercialised era, with new production methods, an expanding marketplace, and increasing competition.

Chapter One considers Murray's use of the drawing room at Albemarle Street to construct a House identity amongst selected members of his inner circle. It also looks at the importance of the Byronic legacy to the House and the means by which Murray sought to protect it.

Chapter Two engages with the contrasting side of the House, namely the 'cheap' publications, which Murray published in response to the growth of this market in the late-1820s and early-1830s. During this time Murray used some of his well-established assets, such as Byron, Crabbe and the *Quarterly Review*, to retain the prestige of the House, while attempting to reach new readers within the burgeoning middle class.

Chapter Three examines Murray's correspondence with some of his female authors to consider how the House responded to authors of both genders, and, with reference to ongoing scholarship regarding 'women's writing', questions the veracity of a gender-centric approach when applied to the study of archival materials; the chapter's findings suggest that both Murray's male and female authors were treated similarly.

The final chapter explores how Murray strove to retain control over the House's reputation as international trading possibilities developed. The roots of the 'Handbooks' and the 'Colonial and Home Library' are also traced back further than has previously been considered, and read within the context of the ongoing re-

branding of Byron discussed in Chapters One and Two. The House's literary figures, and the *Quarterly Review*, were used by Murray in the 1840s to promote the values and prestige of the House in America, Europe and the Colonies.

This thesis offers much previously unpublished archival material from the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland. It builds upon previous scholarship on John Murray and seeks to contextualise some of these lines of enquiry through providing a sustained study of the House during the 1820s-1840s. It uses quantitative analysis, where possible, to provide further grounding for some of its claims, and situates the findings within the growing body of research in this area. It is the underlying aim of this thesis to foreground the House's shift from the 'Romanticism' of the early-nineteenth century towards the 'commercialism' of the mid-nineteenth century, whilst serving as a point of reference for further scholarship on the John Murray Archive during this time period.

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## **Introduction**

The prestige which [Murray] obtained as Byron's publisher, naturally drew to him all that was vigorous and original in the intellect of the day, so that there was a general desire among young authors to be introduced to the public under his auspices. The relations between author and publisher which had prevailed in the eighteenth century were, in his case, curiously inverted, and, in the place of a solitary scholar like Johnson, surrounded by an association of booksellers, the drawing room of Murray now presented the remarkable spectacle of a single publisher acting as the centre of attraction to a host of distinguished writers. – Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends* (1891): 395

[F]or all his success and for all his fame there was one title he never earned – that of the business man. He was naturally indolent, he hated writing letters, he loathed reading manuscripts, and his procrastination drove his authors frantic. But he enjoyed life to the full and saw that others enjoyed it too; he loved good wine, good food, good company – in a word, his most appropriate title is “The Playboy of the Publishing World.” – George Paston, *At John Murray's: Records of a Literary Circle* (1932): 6

As the above excerpt taken from Samuel Smiles' *A Publisher and His Friends* suggests, John Murray II was known first and foremost for publishing Lord Byron's works.<sup>1</sup> From the publication of *Childe Harold* (1812) when Byron 'awoke one morning and found myself famous' (Moore 139), to the publication of *Werner* (1822), Murray secured unprecedented financial and personal gain through the high profits and symbolic capital which Byron's name commanded. The intertwined fortunes of both author and publisher were, however, also a cause of concern to Murray as their relationship began to deteriorate during the latter years of Byron's exile in Italy. In a letter to Byron in October 1822, Murray communicates the disadvantages that were lately besetting the association: 'My company used to be

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis is mainly concerned with the period during which Murray II (1778-1843) was head of the House. His father, and predecessor, is referred to as Murray I (1737-1793), and his son, and successor, is referred to as Murray III (1808-1892). This is predominately for the sake of critical fluidity, as this thesis is more concerned with exploring the overall brand of 'Murray', which, towards the end of the 1830s, increasingly encapsulated both Murray II's and Murray III's contributions to the House.



courted for the pleasure of talking about you – it is totally the reverse now – and, by a reaction, even your former works are considerably deteriorated in sale – It is impossible for you to have a more purely attached friend than I am, my name is connected with your fame – and I beseech you to take care of it’ (Nicolson 456).

Although Murray recognised the importance of Byron’s reputation to the sanctity of his own, his name was also established through other publishing ventures. As the publisher to the Admiralty, of the *Quarterly Review*, and of an array of successful works from Maria Rundell’s *Domestic Cookery* to Franklin and Parry’s exploration narratives, the House of Murray was a veritable establishment with a prestigious reputation. It is unsurprising, then, that in March 1832, Murray wrote a letter to the comparatively lesser known Rev E.R. Gleig echoing the message sent to Byron in 1822: ‘[T]he reputation of the author is so intimately connected with the interest of the publisher that Mr Murray is led to hope that for your own sake as well as for his you will not let this work pass out of your hands except in a state calculated to do you credit’ (MS.41911).

Murray did not wish a misdealing with any author to harm his reputation, but it is evident that he gave more of his attention to particular authors. Similarly, critical attention has tended to follow this pattern, too, with Byron receiving much interest. When returning to the materials in the John Murray Archive, however, it is clear that Byron was only one part of a much broader publishing strategy.<sup>2</sup> It is also evident,

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<sup>2</sup> Although Byron significantly added to the prestige and notoriety of the House, prior to his publications Murray already had an established circle of influential friends and connections, such as William Blackwood, Archibald Constable, William Gifford, Isaac D’Israeli, Sir John Barrow, and John Wilson Croker. Murray had also founded the *Quarterly Review* in 1809.

however, that Byron's reputation continued to be reused and redefined by Murray in a number of ways throughout the 1820s-1840s. As such, Murray's construction of the Byronic legacy, both during his lifetime and after, must be examined to explain the ways in which Murray addressed the challenges and opportunities of the literary marketplace as it transformed from the 'Romantic' to a more commercialised era.

As this thesis is predominately concerned with the years following Byron's death in 1824, I will not provide a lengthy overview of Byron's life or works. Instead, I will be narrowing in on the aspects of the Byronic legacy, and, indeed the construction of Byron as a sellable commodity, which speak most directly to how Murray reused his image in later publishing ventures, and the concerns of the four chapters of this thesis.

The word 'image' is a fitting place to begin, as Byron's visual appeal was very important in the construction of his celebrity. In *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity, Politics*, David Higgins suggests that the transformation of authorship into celebrity was achieved through the process of 'specularisation' whereby visual representations of the author helped to differentiate them from the many others who constituted the increasingly competitive literary marketplace. Murray therefore had not only one, but *two* portraits of Byron painted for his drawing room at 50 Albemarle Street. Tom Mole, in his study, *Byron's Romantic Celebrity*, notes that 'when Murray hung a portrait above the fireplace in his drawing room in Albemarle Street, published prints of Byron as frontispieces or as singleton, and sealed his letters with a signet ring showing Byron's head, he cemented the visual to the verbal to form Byronic celebrity, extending his business

into the burgeoning market for prints and fostering readers' fascination with the man behind the poems' (82).

Byron himself was also aware of the power of using his personal life to create a mythic status which fuelled his celebrity. As Thomas Moore, one of Byron's contemporaries notes: 'he found out the art of "making the public a party to his private sorrows"' (Vol III: 135). The use of personal revelations to create an authorial celebrity status has been related to the development of the growing reading public. As Jon Klancher in *The Making of English Reading Audiences* suggests: 'This vast, unsolicited audience asked of the writer that he perform, construct myths of the "author," become a public event in his own right; toward it, Byron adopted a stance of personal revelation and offered intimacies to a faceless public he professed to disdain.' Klancher also provides a definition of 'mass audience', which he takes to be a 'veritable anthology of all social classes and types' (77). The myth of 'genius' as an authorial identity, Klancher suggest, was thereby used to differentiate authors favoured by the upper classes from the 'hacks' who were beginning to write for the developing lower and middle classes. That Byron was intended to appeal to the upper classes can be inferred by the high prices Murray demanded for his poetry. Mary O'Connell has noted how Murray published Byron's poems in the expensive quarto format as a way to appeal to the 'audience of wealthy, upper class readers for Byron's poems' (79).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> To put this in context, it is necessary to define the terms, upper, middle, and lower class in regard to their respective incomes. As William St Clair notes, the upper/upper-middle class salary was £5 per week. The middle classes, which were composed of professionals such as clergymen, officers, doctors and merchants, received salaries of between £2 10s - £5 per week. The lower-middle class was

By the early-nineteenth century, the definition of the word ‘genius’ had evolved from Edward Young’s ‘Conjectures on Original Composition’ (1759) and Alexander Gerard’s ‘An Essay on Genius’ (1774). Both contributed to the early-nineteenth century definition of ‘genius’ as a quality that was naturally possessed, and one which inspired original, ‘organic’ composition within the author. The word ‘genius’ thereby became a useful way to confer ‘a mark of quality at a time of increased literary production’ (Higgins 8) upon particular authors. This mark of quality was one which also separated the author from the base pecuniary concerns of the publishing trade. As Scott Hess in *Authoring the Self* suggests, ‘the idea of “genius” made the author, in theory, completely independent from the marketplace and its financial considerations’ (52).

Byron’s aristocratic background further contributed to this conception of genius as it enabled him to transcend other authors’ concerns over profits and copyright payments. Initially, Byron refused to accept any payment by Murray for his work, such as the £600 he was offered for *Childe Harold* (Moore 139). By August 1821, however, when Murray offered Byron 1,000 guineas for the copyrights to ‘The Two Foscari’, ‘Sardanapalus’ and Cantos III-V of *Don Juan*, he wrote to his

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composed of skilled workers, who could expect a salary of £1 16s a week. The lower class were composed of farmers, factory workers and domestic servants who received around 10 shillings per week. Alexis Weedon provides the average prices of books, taken from the Society of Authors’ records, which state that a three volume works cost 31s 6d, a one volume edition cost 5s, and a book of essays cost between 2s and 3s 6d. Three volume works would therefore only be afforded by the upper classes, which would still cost one third of their weekly salary. One volume editions could be afforded by the upper strata of the middle class, although the price of one volume editions could vary depending on whether it was a quarto or octavo publication. Some of Murray’s quartos, for example, commanded prices in excess of £4.

adviser, Douglas Kinnaird, bemoaning how little it was (Nicholson 410). This demonstrates both the increasing professionalisation of the industry, and some of the pecuniary realities which lay behind the public image of Byron the 'genius'. As Steven Zani pertinently encapsulates: 'If Byron is a genius, it is because many men have laboured to make him so, through a careful reconstruction of his life' (Zani 32).

The increasing commercialism of the literary marketplace during the 1820s was, in part, driven by advances in printing. Although stereotyping had been available from 1802 (Gaskell), it was not until the 1820s that it was more widely used by printers (Erickson, Plant). Stereotyping allowed publishers to be more flexible when deciding the size of print runs, and they could also reduce the expense of paying compositors, and for the storage of the proofs, which had been costly during the days of typesetting. The cheapening and quickening of the printing process led, as Lee Erikson in *The Economy of Literary Form* says, 'to both a democratisation and a stratification of literary culture in England, as books and periodicals became available to all classes of readers and an economy of scale came into being (19).' During the mid-1820s a number of publishers' series, such as Charles Knight's SDUK, and Constable's Miscellany, took advantage of these technological changes to target lower and middle class readers.

While there was a growing market for cheaper works, Murray's reputation was still defined by his association with Byron, the prestigious *Quarterly Review*, and his quarto publications of Franklin and Parry. Indeed, the exclusivity of Murray's publishing House was summarised, with some resentment, by William Wordsworth who described Murray as 'too great a personage for any one but a count,

an aristocrat, or most fashionable author to deal with' (cited by McClary xlv).

Murray also received criticism from another of Wordsworth's contemporaries, as Ben McClary notes: 'To insure a passport to the table of Mr Murray, three things are necessary; first, that the party be an author of some celebrity; secondly, that he be an unexceptionable Tory; and, thirdly, that he be, to a greater or lesser extent, patronised by the aristocracy' (xlv). The class of person typically permitted to associate with Murray was often reflected in the prices and formats of his publications. The first two cantos of *Don Juan*, for example, were priced at £1-11-6d (NLS, MS.42725), and Parry's first voyage was priced at £3-13-6d. As will be discussed, however, there were 'cheaper' works across a range of price brackets which contributed significantly to the financial prosperity and longevity of the House. In terms of reputation, however, it was these higher end publications which commanded the most esteem.

Murray's standing was further strengthened by his publishing premises at 50 Albemarle Street, a town house in the fashionable West End district of London. By moving from the bookselling district of Fleet Street in 1812, Murray signified his transformation from bookseller to publisher, a transition that is noted in the prefatory quotation from Smiles. Murray further distanced himself from the mercantile world of trade and commerce through the carefully executed decoration of the interior of his new publishing house. In the same year in which he moved to Albemarle Street, Murray started to commission portraits of a select handful of his authors. These portraits served a dual purpose. Firstly, painted by the leading classical painters of the day, the portraits acted as a counterpoint to the increasing replication of authors' frontispieces in cheap publications. Secondly, the portraits constructed a hierarchy of

Murray authors and stood as an accurate indication of who was a member of Murray's coveted inner circle, and who was not.

Before drawing the separate strands of this Introduction together in order to outline how each of the four chapters builds upon these ideas, it is important to consider how this thesis relates to the broader theoretical concepts to which it alludes. While it is not the intention of this thesis to provide a new reading of these theoretical concepts, their prevalence within the fields of Book History and English Literature, and my reference to them throughout this study, demands that my usage of them be explained.

As this thesis is fundamentally concerned with the production of literature (in its broadest sense), it draws upon some of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts in *The Field of Cultural Production* and *Distinction*. According to Bourdieu, the field of cultural production is a social formation structured by a hierarchically defined field (literary, economic, political and so forth) which is governed by its own laws and internal forces. Its structure is determined by the relationships between the field's agents (author, publisher, etc.), who vie for different forms of capital (usually symbolic or cultural) and 'hierarchization' (either heteronomous or autonomous) to consolidate their position in the field. Bourdieu defines the literary field, with which this thesis is preoccupied, as: '[A] veritable social universe where, in accordance with its particular laws, there accumulates a particular form of capital and where relations of force of a particular type are exerted. This universe is the place of entirely specific struggles, notably concerning the question of knowing who is part of the universe, who is a real writer, and who is not' (*The Field* 164). The idea of the relations

between the different agents and the different forms of capital which accrue, thereby defining and consolidating one's status within the field, is applicable to my exploration of Murray's construction of his House identity. As noted above, the physical entity that was the publishing house at 50 Albemarle Street played an important role in constructing a hierarchy amongst the members belonging to the brand that was the House of Murray. This hierarchy was defined by the type of capital which each member brought to the House, with symbolic capital tending to be more publically rewarded, in the form of a portrait and inclusion into the inner circle, than financial capital.<sup>4</sup> For example, Murray commissioned a portrait of George Crabbe, who made notorious financial losses for the House, yet did not even socialise with Maria Rundell, one of his 'best-selling' authors. In some cases, however, some authors brought both symbolic and economic gain to the House.

A further function of the portraits and the Albemarle Street premises will also be explored in relation to the discussion concerning the authenticating effect of 'genius' in response to the growing commercialism of the marketplace. In this

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<sup>4</sup> In *The Field of Cultural Production*, Bourdieu identifies two principles of hierarchization – the heteronomous and autonomous principles. While the most revered members of Murray's circle were often those who successfully appeared to display the autonomous principle ('art for art's sake') as opposed to the heteronomous principle (those who dominate the field for economic reasons) (40), this is a term that does not fully fit with my underlying discussion regarding the construction of (Romantic) authorial identity. While authors such as Byron presented the illusion of a form of literary production which was devoid from material consideration (see, for example, David Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine*, Robert Macfarlane, *Original Copy*, and Tom Mole, *Byron's Romantic Celebrity*, discussed further in Chapter One), to suggest that this was 'art for art's sake' would be to acquiesce to the myth of Romantic ideology – that Romantic literary production was 'organic', not 'made'. Instead, it is perhaps more accurate to explain the hierarchization as being predicated on the distinction between symbolic and economic capital, with symbolic capital (representing prestige, celebrity, and recognition/consecration) being more closely aligned to the outward image of the House's values than economic capital.



regard, I draw upon the work of Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society*.

Williams' reading of Edward Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759), wherein Young defines an original composition as that which is 'grown', not 'made' (37), relates to the mechanisation of literary production in the 1820s which, as Williams suggests, increasingly 'made', or imitated, art out of pre-existing materials (the increasing ability to more easily copy already published works at a lower cost being one such example). This is a line of thinking which will be considered in regard to how Murray managed to align the reputation of his House with authenticity and originality at a time of piratical publications, cheaper books, and the increased circulation of replica images. In discussing the authenticity effect of certain publications, Walter Benjamin's concept of 'aura', outlined in *The Work of Art in the Mechanical Age of Reproduction*, will be engaged with. Once a work is reproduced, Benjamin suggests, it is lacking 'in one element' when compared to the original: 'one might subsume the eliminated element in the term "aura" and go on to say: that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art' (9).

When first considering how to approach the many manuscripts in the John Murray Archive it was helpful to draw upon Robert Darnton's 'Communications Circuit', from his seminal essay 'What is the History of Books?' (1982). In considering how Murray constructed the House identity during the 1820s-1840s, this study inevitably moves beyond the role of particular authors, to examining the role of Murray himself, the printers, agents, booksellers, markets/readers, and the economic, political, and legal contexts which contributed to how the House negotiated the

challenges and opportunities of the literary marketplace during these decades. A useful addition to Darnton's Communications Circuit has been Thomas R. Adams's and Nicolas Barker's essay 'A New Model for the Study of the Book' (1993). Instead of the six groups of people which form the Communications Circuit, Adams and Barker propose that five events in the life of the book should be considered, these being publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival (53). The aspect of Adams and Barker which I have applied most explicitly to this thesis is the propensity of this 'system of communication' to 'in turn precipitate other cycles' (53). In other words, what happens to a book after its first publication is a key factor when considering its continuing 'survival' in the public domain.

The (re)cycling of particular titles and, indeed, their authors, was a strategy which Murray used throughout the 1820s and 1840s to (re)establish the House identity in emerging markets. In spite of George Paston's characterisation of Murray as 'The Playboy of the Publishing World', the archival materials attest to his business acumen and longevity at a time when other publishers, such as Archibald Constable,<sup>5</sup> were financially ruined. It is evident from the materials in the archive that, as Paston says, Murray did not always respond speedily to his authors, and often forwent the formalities of drawing up written contracts. His penchant for 'good food, good wine, and good company' did, however, ingratiate him with the most influential figures of the day, including not only authors, but politicians, scientists, and explorers. Murray's natural sociability, I propose, was a successful business strategy, even if Paston did not recognise it as such. As David Finkelstein suggests in *The*

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<sup>5</sup> Ross Alloway. 'Cadell and the Crash.' 2008.

*House of Blackwood*, the ‘specific social space’ (16) of Blackwood’s publishing house enabled authors to ‘imbibe a common “culture”’ (16), which was key in constructing a shared brand identity amongst Blackwood’s authors. In a similar way, the drawing room at Albemarle Street functioned to create cohesion amongst Murray’s authors, with the strength of these ties and the publishing brand which they created contributing to the overall appeal and success of the House.

This thesis examines how Murray (re)established the House identity in different markets during the 1820s-1840s, as the Romantic epoch diffused into an increasingly commercialised era, with new production methods, an expanding marketplace, and increasing competition. In so doing, it pays particular attention to the importance of the Byronic legacy and the Albemarle Street culture to the construction of the House identity. Following on from the above discussion, it treats the idea of ‘genius’ as a publishing strategy and examines how Murray drew upon, and ‘recycled’ it in different ways throughout the 1820s-1840s. As this thesis is based upon archival material it has not always been possible to recreate as complete a picture as I would have liked. Additionally, as much of this material is previously unpublished and, therefore, unlikely to be known by the reader, I have transcribed some of the archival letters to contextualise the points I am making. I have tried to minimise my use of such letters to prevent myself from digressing from the main concerns of the thesis, although their inclusion may aid and inspire further research on the John Murray Archive.

To further situate this thesis within the scope of other studies into publishers’ archives, I have included a statistical analysis of Murray’s publications between

1824-1842. I have collected data on the price (Appendix One), genre, and format (Appendix Two) of Murray's publications between 1824 and 1842, which cover the years from Byron's death to John Murray III's accession in 1842. The data from 1824-1834 is taken from *The English Catalogue of Books*, and the data between 1835-1842 is compiled from the *Index to the British Catalogue of Books*. When cross-checking the data from these materials with the manuscripts in the John Murray Archive I found these to be reliable sources, although I acknowledge that they are likely to only give a broad overview, and all discrepancies are, of course, my responsibility. The data has, however, been useful in situating my study in the broader context of other statistical analyses of the period, particularly those of Simon Eliot<sup>6</sup> and Alexis Weedon.<sup>7</sup>

Although this thesis is mainly concerned with the years following Byron's death in 1824, it also refers to before this time in order to show how important, both symbolically and financially, Byron had been to the construction of the House's identity. Chapter One examines Murray's move from Fleet Street to Albemarle Street and how the drawing room was used to confer a brand identity on his authors. It uses previously unpublished material from the years following Byron's death to show how Murray attempted to control his legacy during the proliferation of posthumous biographies which entered the market during the 1820s. Although Byron was a significant figure in the House's history, this chapter also acknowledges the

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<sup>6</sup> Simon Eliot. *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919*. 1994.

<sup>7</sup> Alexis Weedon. *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916*. 2003.

importance of moving away from Byron to consider the other authors who contributed to the House's identity. In keeping with the discussion on the significance of Albemarle Street, the last section of this chapter examines the importance of Murray's connection to the Navy, and his publication of the official narratives of William Edward Parry and John Franklin, in constructing a cohesive culture of prestige and exclusivity across different genres.

While 50 Albemarle Street was renowned for its dinner parties, which were attended by the luminaries of the day, and Murray's opulent quartos, which were popular amongst the upper classes, the growing middle class, the increased use of stereotyping, and the emergence of cheaper series from rival publishers, meant that Murray needed to broaden the House's appeal to this emerging market from the mid-1820s onwards. The Family Library series was one such venture, and has been meticulously researched by Scott Bennett.<sup>8</sup> I suggest in Chapter Two that Murray's main focus in reaching this new market was, however, in the republication of Byron's works as monthly volumes. As such, Murray was able to attract new readers who had previously found the quartos of Byron's works too expensive, while retaining the prestige and authenticity of the House which Byron embodied. I also suggest, based upon previously unpublished archival material, that another of Murray's prestigious assets, the *Quarterly Review*, was frequently reviewed throughout the 1820s and 1830s in response to the rise of the cheap magazines and newspapers which threatened to diminish its readership.

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<sup>8</sup> Scott Bennett. 'John Murray's Family Library and the Cheapening of Books in Early Nineteenth Century Britain.' 1976.

Another market which emerged out of the technological changes during the 1820s and 1830s were the annuals, which were predominately marketed at middle class female readers. They were seen by some as crassly commodifying art, poetry, and the aristocratic lifestyle which their readers aspired to. They did, however, provide a platform for female authors and editors, enabling them to earn a salary from writing on a regular basis. In spite of their popularity, or, more likely, because of it, Murray did not publish an annual. He did, however, publish a significant number of female authors and his desire to appeal to female readers is also evident. Chapter Three explores Murray's publishing relations with Elizabeth Rundell, Madame de Staël, Caroline Norton, and Mary Somerville. In so doing, it engages with ongoing discussions of 'women's writing' and advocates the use of archival material to approach the subject of female authorship on a case by case basis. As the chapter concludes, Murray's dealings with his female authors were, predominantly, based upon class rather than gender considerations, in the same way as they were with the male authors, with Murray favouring whichever author could contribute most favourably to the House's overall brand identity.

The final chapter considers how Murray responded to the ongoing expansion of the international markets during the late-1830s and 1840s. Murray had been plagued by foreign piracies throughout the 1820s, but through legal reform and the strengthening of trade courtesies during the 1830s and 1840s, he was able to forge a number of arrangements with international agencies. The Handbook and Home and Colonial Library series also indicate Murray's growing interest in selling abroad during this time. While the Handbooks and Home and Colonial Library were

important series for Murray, and have received notable critical attention, this chapter also discusses previously unpublished material on the publications and sales methods which predated these two series, but which can be interpreted as being prototypical of the content and sales strategy that informed them. I suggest that Mariana Starke's work, in particular, first helped to distinguish Murray's (authentic) 'travellers' from other (commoditised) 'tourists'. This distinction has previously been considered in relation to the Handbooks by James Buzard<sup>9</sup> and Barbara Schaff.<sup>10</sup> I conclude the chapter by suggesting that this can be re-evaluated in light of my ongoing discussion about the recycling of the Byronic brand throughout the 1820s-1840s.

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<sup>9</sup> James Buzard. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918*. 1993.

<sup>10</sup> Barbara Schaff. 'John Murray's Handbooks to Italy: Making Tourism Literary.' 2009.

## Chapter One

### 50 Albemarle Street and the Branding of the House Identity

Since 1768, when John Murray I moved from Edinburgh to London in search of publishing success, the Murrays had established themselves at 32 Fleet Street. In the eighteenth century Fleet Street was at the heart of the London book trade.<sup>11</sup>

Murray's shop was the frequent meeting place of writers, politicians, and businessmen who came to enjoy the 'club-like conviviality' (Zachs 27) orchestrated by Murray. From here Murray established himself in the London book trade publishing in a diverse range of genres, with a specialism in medicine, in which he became one of Britain's leading publishers.<sup>12</sup> After Murray I's death in 1793, Samuel Highley and the young Murray II continued the publishing business, even though the partnership was not easy.<sup>13</sup> Although Murray I's wholesale assets, freehold property and leases, and stock and copyrights were valued at £12,000 at the time of his death, with £10,000 being released through two sales in 1794 and 1795 (Zachs 244) this was a modest amount when compared to the worth of other London publishers such

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<sup>11</sup> William Zachs in *The First John Murray and the Late-Eighteenth Century London Book Trade* provides a detailed account of 32 Fleet Street and Murray I's publishing history. James Raven in *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* discusses London as the central site of the early-nineteenth century book trade.

<sup>12</sup> Zachs provides a statistical account of Murray publications between 1768-1793 (161). Medicine, poetry, history, and religion were the most published genres, with other genres such as agriculture, arts, biography, drama, economics, education, fiction, language, law, literary criticism, military, philosophy, politics, science, and travel/topography also being represented.

<sup>13</sup> Zachs discusses the Highley-Murray relationship after the death of Murray I.



as William Strahan and Thomas Cadell.<sup>14</sup> In 1802 Murray II and Highley decided to separate, leaving Murray in full control of his father's publishing business after the case went to arbitration in March 1803. Over the next ten years Murray began his 'plunge alone into the depths of literary speculation [...] ambitious that my first appearance before the public should be such as will at once stamp my character and respectability' (Smiles 13). Murray had what proved to be a stroke of luck in 1805 when he agreed to publish Maria Elizabeth Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery* without any payment to the author. Rundell's book soon became a bestseller and ran into multiple editions. Some of the earnings from *Domestic Cookery*, along with the *Quarterly Review*, enabled Murray to part with the £3,822-12s-6d which, in 1812, he paid for 50 Albemarle Street and William Miller's stock and copyrights. Indeed, the copyrights of *Domestic Cookery* and the *Quarterly* were given to Miller as surety, alongside a one-fourth share in *Marmion*, until Murray repaid his debt to Miller in 1821 (Smiles 101). During the move Murray also disposed of his medical copyrights.

Murray's relocation to Albemarle Street contributed significantly to literary London's perception of his 'character and respectability'. Albemarle Street was the location from which Murray transformed the House from a business with a comparably small turnover and a specialism in medicine, to a publishing empire which could boast trading ties to Europe, India, and America, and the names of the leading authors of the times. Murray himself was as much a public figure as the

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<sup>14</sup> Strahan was valued at £100,000 (Zachs 242).

authors he published. His afternoon gatherings and evening parties at Albemarle Street attracted the biggest names, from the fields of literature to science to politics. Murray's status within the trade earning him the moniker 'Emperor of the West'.

As will be discussed in the following chapters, Murray used a number of publishing strategies to ensure the House's success. It is evident from the materials in the John Murray Archive that the geography of Albemarle Street was one such strategy. When uncovering the history of a text's production, critical attention has tended to focus on the aspects of the Darnton 'Communications Circuit'. While this model has been slightly modified by others, such as Adams and Barker, the *physicality* of the publisher's firm and its influence on the construction of a text *and* its author, is territory that has only recently started to be explored in relation to early-nineteenth century publications.<sup>15</sup>

The number of references to Albemarle Street that are present in the archival records alone, demands that more attention be paid to the significance of 50 Albemarle Street to Murray and his authors. In 1827 Washington Irving wrote to Murray: 'I am heartily glad you are once more at your classic establishment in Albemarle Street; which will do more for your fortune and honourable reputation than any other residence or concern' (McClary xiii). This sentiment was shared by Murray himself who recorded that 'I am in the habit of seeing persons of the highest rank in literature and talent, such as Canning, Frere, Mackintosh, Southey, Campbell,

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<sup>15</sup> Mary O'Connell discusses the significance of Albemarle Street to Byron's career in 'Byron and Albemarle Street.' David Finkelstein explores Blackwood's use of his publishing premises to inscribe his authors with a house identity in *The House of Blackwood*. Both O'Connell and Finkelstein are discussed in more detail throughout this chapter.

Walter Scott, Madame de Staël, Gifford, Croker, Barrow, Lord Byron, and others; thus leading the most delightful life, with means of prosecuting my business with the highest honour and emolument' (JMII to Archibald Murray, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1813, MS 43025). The atmosphere at No 50 was still worthy of note as Martha Somerville, in 1873, compiled the biography of her mother, who had visited Albemarle Street from the 1820s onwards: 'No house in London was more hospitable than that of the late Mr John Murray in Albemarle Street. His dinner parties were brilliant, with all the poets and literary characters of the day, and Mr Murray himself was gentlemanly, full of information, and kept up the conversation with spirit' (Somerville, *Recollections* 176).

Investigations into other coeval publishing houses reveal a similar preoccupation with the geographical site of the firm and its influence upon the status of the business as a whole. In his study of the Blackwood Archive, David Finkelstein discusses how *The House of Blackwood*, the official history of the firm written in 1954 by F.D. Tredrey, 'illustrates several unspoken assumptions about the issue of how the firm saw itself as a creator of unique intellectual, social, and work communities and spaces' (15). There are notable parallels between how Murray and Blackwood used the 'spaces' of their respective premises to construct a House identity to bind its members together through a set of shared values and aspirations. In relation to Blackwood, Finkelstein notes:

The editorial side of the firm was very much at the forefront of the House of Blackwood's self-image. It represented a specific social space as well, an invisible arena that accommodated shifting bands of contributors and authors who were encouraged to meet and mingle, imbibe a common 'culture', and

share unspoken assumptions about their identities within this large, all embracing Blackwoodian ecumene (16).

The Blackwoodian culture is further described by Finkelstein ‘as a tightly run, male-dominated space, yet also suggested to prospective authors, both male and female, as an opening, welcoming, and inclusive club of sorts’ (16). The ‘club-like conviviality’ of Murray’s Fleet Street premises, as noted by Zachs, was transferred to Albemarle Street where its powers were used in a similar way to Blackwood’s ‘inclusive club’ which Finkelstein identifies. The overlap between the two firms is evident in a letter which Murray sent to William Blackwood shortly after his move to Princes Street, Edinburgh in 1816:

In your present establishment you may improve to a most valuable extent the foundations already laid of a solid retail business, which in a few years may be consigned to the care of attentive clerks, while you will be gradually from this time rising into the higher duties of cultivating young men of Genius of the day, whom your present situation and literary attractions and attentions of all kinds will indisputably draw around you (Tredrey, *House of Blackwood* 57).

The emergence of Murray’s and Blackwood’s ‘club’ identities can be partly explained when put in historical context. When Murray moved to Albemarle Street in 1812, the Napoleonic Wars were still underway. The economic impact of the wars increased the cost and availability of a number of everyday commodities as a result of the Napoleonic Trade Embargo of 1806-1812. Napoleon’s intent was to isolate Britain from the rest of Europe by severing trade import and export links. Although the Napoleonic Wars impacted negatively on the paper trade, and by extension the publishing industry, the wars, paradoxically, increased Britain’s national wealth. As Colin Winborn notes: ‘According to *Britain Independent of Commerce*, the pressure on trade exerted by the Continental System (chiefly in terms of food shortages, high

prices and the burden of taxes) is liberating, throwing the nation back on its own resources and in the process recovering them anew' (Winborn 91). Britain's resilience and isolation from the rest of Europe led to the desire for greater social cohesion amongst the affluent and educated echelons of society. This manifested itself in the founding of societies, based upon the model of eighteenth century clubs, which had themselves evolved out of the coffee houses of London. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries coffee houses had been 'a reflection of the emerging middle class, with its emphasis on discussion, exploration of ideas, sobriety and refined sociability' (Suter 91). While the working classes frequented London's public houses, the upper classes transformed some of London's coffee houses into exclusive fraternities.<sup>16</sup> These clubs became the meeting places of Britain's rising professional class, which included artists, scientists, and literary men, who sought the upward mobility of the aristocracy.

These clubs and the circulation of ideas on which they were predicated were a ready market for publishers to sell to. As Lee Erickson points out, 'books were still expensive luxuries, publishers made more money and assumed less risk by selling fashionable literature to the few who were well off than by catering to the undeveloped tastes of many who were newly literate' (4). After the Napoleonic Wars, however, publishers made increasing profits from appealing to other demographics. While there was still a demand for expensive books, new markets also

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<sup>16</sup> Humphry Ward in his historical account of The Athenaeum Club provides an account of how particular coffee houses were taken over by certain political factions. The Whigs, for example, gathered at St James Coffee House, and the Tories at Ozinda's (5). The founding of new clubs at this time included The United Service (1815) and The Union Club (1822) for 'merchants, lawyers, Members of Parliament, and "gentlemen at large"' (6).

opened up in response to increased literacy rates and newer, cheaper methods of publishing. Publishers such as Henry Colburn<sup>17</sup> and Thomas Tegg, in particular, forged careers out of catering to, and constructing, this market. Both publishers were known within the industry for their opportunistic approach to publishing, often selling remainders of other publishers' stock at reduced prices. Such publishing strategies aided the polarisation of the publishing industry during the 1820s, between cheap literature and its association with debased literary culture, and high-end publications which were only affordable to the very wealthy (Sutherland 151).

Although the latter of these two markets was the more revered by Murray and his circle, it was subject to criticism from those who viewed such expensive publications with disdain. Thomas Love Peacock's 'Essay on Fashionable Literature' (1818), for example, labelled publishers such as Murray, 'the hardy veterans of corruption,' by associating him with the lackadaisical whims of the upper classes who could afford to display their latest literary discovery on 'the boudoir sofa, and the drawing-room table' (216). Peacock also criticised the 'exclusive circles' and 'petty gangs and factions' (214), which Murray and Blackwood were creators of, and which the publishing industry was divided into. Further evidence of the exclusivity of the Albemarle Street circle is suggested by the method Lockhart used to pay the *Quarterly Review* contributors. In a letter to Murray he explains how he 'wrote notes to all the writers concerned, sealed up their documents, and put their letters into the

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<sup>17</sup> John Sutherland in 'Henry Colburn Publisher' explores the opinions of Colburn's contemporaries towards his publishing practices. Colburn was most famously criticised for 'puffing' the works of his authors. Puffing refers to the technique whereby a publisher would favourably review and advertise the works of their forthcoming publications through their own periodical.

box at the Atheneum' (MS.42452). The Atheneum was a club frequented by men of wealth and status. Lockhart's use of it as a conduit through which to pay the Albemarle Street authors suggests that the average Murray author was the type to be found frequenting the elite clubs of London.

### **The Drawing Room at Albemarle Street**

Set against the backdrop of the Napoleonic Wars and its influence upon the creation of clubs and societies, as identified by Winborn, Murray's move to Albemarle Street in 1812 was well timed. By moving away from the bookselling district of Fleet Street and Paternoster Row, towards the fashionable and upmarket West End, Murray signified a transition from bookselling, and its association with trade and commerce, to publishing. As Asa Briggs's notes, 'John Murray II did much to establish the role of "publisher" as it subsequently came to be pursued during the Victorian years. He was clearer than his father [...] had been about the scope and direction of his publishing enterprise' (Briggs 407). Further evidence of this can be found in Smiles' A

*Publisher:*

[Murray] refuses to be bound by mere trading calculations. 'The business of a publishing bookseller,' he writes to a correspondent, 'is not in his shop, or even in his connections, but in his brains.' [...]. A new conception of the scope of his trade seems early to have risen in his mind and he was perhaps the first member of the Stationers' craft to separate the business of bookselling from that of publishing (511).

It seems that Murray was also keen to promote himself as a publisher to his authors as early as November 1813, as a letter to Byron demonstrates wherein he refers to himself as both ‘a man of business’ and ‘your publisher’ (Nicholson 48).

It is apparent that Murray associated his conception of what a publisher should be with the ‘gentlemanly’ model of publishing which was based upon patronage. As Smiles noted: ‘In Murray, the spirit of the eighteenth century seemed to meet and harmonise with the spirit of the nineteenth century’ (395). In this respect, the setting of the townhouse was ideal as it evoked the aristocratic air which Murray aspired to. The townhouse was typically a place where tradesman were not permitted to enter (Logan 26). By using such a setting as the site of his publishing business, Murray distanced himself from the label of ‘bookseller’, by situating himself in an environment which precluded such associations. This is further suggested by the Smiles’ quotation given at the beginning of the Introduction. Here, Smiles’ inauspicious reference to the drawing-room seems to act as the silent bystander to Murray’s substitution of ‘an association of booksellers’ for ‘a host of distinguished writers.’ Rather than being the passive backdrop to this significant shift in how Murray branded himself as a ‘publisher’, however, the drawing room was an integral part of his self-fashioning as a nineteenth century publisher (see Figure One).

Thad Logan’s work on the mid-nineteenth century house illuminates how it was a site which negotiated the contested oppositions of ‘male and female, public and private, self and other’ (26). There is evidence of all three of these dichotomies being explored at No 50, both consciously and subconsciously. Like Blackwood’s, the gender politics of the drawing-room could be best described as predominately



male, but welcoming to women. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, acceptance into the drawing-room and Murray's circle was something which made the prospect of being published by Murray even more attractive to female authors. In reality, however, only a select handful of female authors were invited into this coveted space. The opposition between public and private was one that, as suggested above, was challenged by Murray using the private site of the house as the public premises of his business. The relationship between self and other, which Logan identifies, is evidenced by the collection of portraits, books, and other paraphernalia that Murray displayed in the drawing-room, which were instrumental in creating a sense of unity, and hierarchy, between the authors, similar to the 'Blackwoodian ecumene', in addition to connoting class, power, and empire.<sup>18</sup>

This 'decorative, semiotic economy' (Logan 26) is evidenced by the meticulously designed interior of No 50, which aided Murray's transition from bookseller to publisher. A description of the house is given by George Ticknor: 'He carried me to a handsome room over Murray's book store, which he has fitted up as a sort of literary lounge, where authors resort to read newspapers, and talk literary gossip' (Smiles 114). Murray's 'literary lounge' closely emulated both the exclusivity of London's new clubs and the elegance of the French salons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> The 'literary gossip' to which Ticknor alludes

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<sup>18</sup> The 'Blackwoodian ecumene' (Finkelstein 16) describes the community Blackwood authors were invited into by the House. Finkelstein suggests this community was integral in creating a shared identity between the authors, with the overarching result of achieving a unified Blackwood brand.

<sup>19</sup> Helen Clergue. *The Salon: A Study of French Society and Personalities in the Eighteenth Century*. 1907. Patrick H. Vincent. *The Romantic Poetess: European Politics, Culture and Gender, 1820-1840*. 2004.

was a defining characteristic of the salons, with its effect being that it ‘harmonized people into a greater social whole, the republic of letters, itself considered an idealised microcosm of society’ (Vincent 128). As Vincent suggests, gossip thereby served the purpose of strengthening the ties between the salons’ members, creating a sense of social cohesion which would have also incited feelings of camaraderie, a key component of the club-like culture Murray constructed.

Surrounding the authors who assembled at Murray’s to ‘talk literary gossip’ was a carefully designed drawing-room. In his biography of the House of Murray, Humphrey Carpenter notes how William Miller’s joiner, David Reid, fitted out the drawing-room and room adjacent to it: ‘To first floor to elegant book cases fixed at both ends of the room and five book stands under ditto with mahogany tops and all ornamented with paintings and two other book stands’ (Carpenter 78). Within the drawing-room of Albemarle Street, Murray displayed many books by men of ‘Genius’ on the shelves fitted by David Reid. The books and the opulent interior of the drawing-room had an impression upon the mind of George Crabbe, who later recounted his first visit to Albemarle Street:

First Hour at Mr. Murray’s. A much younger and more lively man than I had imagined. A handsome drawing-room above, where his friends go when they please, usually from two to five o’clock. Books of all, but especially of expensive, kinds. There new works are heard of, and there generally first seen. Pictures, by Phillips, of Lord Byron, Mr. Scott, Campbell, Moore, Rogers (yet unfinished). Mr Murray wishes me to sit (Faulkner 211).

Crabbe’s description of the ‘expensive’ books at Murray’s reveals much about the markets Murray published in. In 1817, the year in which Crabbe recorded the above diary entry, most books were, indeed, expensive. The production costs of a new

copyrighted Longman's title from 1818, for example, are given in William St Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. The figures represent 750 copies of an 8vo edition:

| <i>Total Cost</i>                  | <i>Price</i> | <i>Percent of</i> |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Setting the Type                   | £22.5        | 21                |
| Paper and Pressing                 | £22.5        | 21                |
| Total Manufacturing Costs          | £45          | 43                |
| Selling Costs, Advertising         | £60          | 57                |
| Total Costs                        | £60          | 100               |
| Implied Unit Cost of Manufacture   | 1s           | 100               |
| Implied Unit Cost with Advertising | 3s           |                   |
| Retail Price                       | 10s          |                   |
| Sale Price to Retailers            | 7.5s         |                   |

Murray's publications could sell in excess of this. The ledger book from 1817/1818 for an octavo edition of *Byron's Works* (1818), for example shows cost of £1220-2s for paper, £668-11s for printing, £80 for advertising, sold to the trade for between £1-3s and £1-8s.

That Crabbe chose to mention Murray's books in the same way as he noted the other fixtures and fittings says a lot about their function at this time. The interchangeability between books and furniture during the 1820s was noted by Walter Scott:

[B]ooks are no longer solely respected for their insides since they have been honoured with admission into the drawing room which although a very

pleasing and sensible transition from the stiffness of ancient manners [...] has nevertheless contributed greatly to render Books expensive as elegant pieces of furniture (Grierson 346).

Murray's own publications greatly contributed to this, and from early on Murray understood how important it was to make the appearance of a book communicate its reader's social standing. Byron's publications are the most immediate example of how opulent Murray's books could be. St Clair and O' Connell have both noted how the first edition of *Childe Harold*, which was published as a quarto, created an 'audience of wealthy, upper class readers for Byron's poems' (O' Connell 79). Although Byron's publications did much to establish this readership, it was further created by publications of travel and exploration. Dixon Denham, William Parry and John Franklin all had works which were published in the expensive quarto format, and which were sold for equally exorbitant prices. The importance of the travel and exploration authors is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The relationship between the drawing room and class, as suggested by the luxurious books on display, was further achieved by the portraits which Murray commissioned. From the time he moved to Albemarle Street, Murray began to adorn the drawing room with portraits of some of the visitors who frequented Albemarle Street. The portraits included Gifford, Byron, Southey, Scott, Washington Irving, Croker, Coleridge, Crabbe, Rogers, Hallam, Thomas Moore, Lockhart, the explorers, Clapperton, Denham, Franklin, and Parry, and Mary Somerville (the only woman) (Smiles 118). As can be seen, portraits were painted of only a select few of Murray's circle. Thomas Phillips was commissioned to paint the majority of the portraits. The

exceptions were Gifford, by Hoppner, Scott and Irving, by Stewart Newton, and Croker by Eddis.

In 1814, Phillips also began to paint a series of portraits in Kit-Cat size (36 x 28 inches), a style based upon the portraits which were hung in the dining-room of the Kit-Cat Club (Peach 65). Peach has identified how the Kit-Cat portraits were used within the club to ‘commemorate the existence of a group who met together in the room where the portraits were to be hung’ (65). Murray’s portraits had a similar impact upon the Albemarle Street circle. The placing of the portraits in the drawing room also served a further purpose of imposing a hierarchy upon the group. As Peach notes, Murray chose to hang Byron’s portrait over the fire-place, thereby positioning it as the focal point within the drawing-room. Symbolically, this marked Byron out from Murray’s other authors as a figure to aspire to.<sup>20</sup>

Returning to Logan’s three binaries, which he suggested were negotiated within the site of the house, the portraits can be seen to contribute to these silently contested dichotomies. As Patricia Fara notes, ‘portraits were not evaluated merely as likenesses; they simultaneously shaped and reflected ideological constructs, such as national character, appropriate gender behaviour and class structures’ (200). Murray’s choice of Phillips as the primary portrait painter was integral in creating the upper-class atmosphere which he desired. Phillips was a highly revered portraitist, who had painted the Prince of Wales in 1806, and who had become a full member of

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<sup>20</sup> The hanging of Byron’s portrait above the fireplace is one example of how Murray constructed a hierarchy of authors within his House and evokes Bourdieu’s ‘literary field’ wherein the different agents vie for symbolic capital so as to define their place in the hierarchy which governs the field.

the Royal Academy in 1808, a marker of artistic prestige. Fara notes the part that Phillips played in constructing public personas through his paintings: ‘At the same time as Phillips was consolidating [the] male stereotype of the Romantic poet he was also participating in the construction of [Joseph] Banks as another ideal, the man of science’ (205). Indeed, the demand upon Phillips to paint portraits of the leading figures from literature, science, exploration, politics, and the monarchy, enabled him to assemble a portfolio of work which celebrated Britain’s strengths in an array of fields.

Although there was a demand for portraits painted in the style of Phillips, his career coincided with technological changes in the printing industry which increased the ways in which images could be produced and disseminated. The arrival of steel plate engraving and stereotyping, and improvements in transport, all contributed to the increased circulation of the printed image. Instead of only being the reserve of the wealthy, images of authors were now more freely available across society. For publishers, such innovations enabled them to construct new markets and experiment with different formats, which altered the relationship between the text and image. The circulation of frontispieces, which displayed author’s portraits, also contributed to a growing fascination with the life of the author. On the one hand this enabled publishers to rely even more on the authorial image selling a book. On the other, it meant that authors’ images were increasingly out of the control of the publisher as they could be replicated, and even satirised, by other agents.

Such variations on portraits are evident in *Fraser’s* ‘Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters’, a monthly series which ran from June 1830 to July 1838. Each

month *Fraser's* would take as its subject a figure from literature or politics to satirise. Each edition consisted of an article accompanied by a portrait of the figure under discussion, which, for its time, was 'unique in its combination of image and text' (Fisher 98). The relationship between the image and the text was a symbiotic one, which enabled *Fraser's* to forge its own distinct style, as Judith Fisher notes, 'since the text always referred to and incorporated the image into its description of the subject, the combined informal, chatty tone of the narration and the elegant line drawings established a characteristic Fraserian voice' (97). Like the Blackwoodian and Albemarle Street cultures, *Fraser's* used portraits to establish their own brand which was shared by the magazine's readers and contributors.

Although there are similarities between *Fraser's* and Murray in terms of how portraits were used to inscribe a particular brand, they were different in terms of what that House identity said about their respective models of authorship. A fundamental difference between the two was in how far they were willing to make public the private lives of authors. Murray's gallery of portraits, for example, remained within the walls of Albemarle Street, except for when some portraits were used as frontispieces, the production of which was overseen by Murray. The portraits' contribution to the construction of a House identity was achieved through word of mouth and written correspondence between authors, which gradually percolated out into wider literary society. By contrast, *Fraser's* portraits were commercially produced on a large scale for public consumption. Their satirical nature, complemented by the 'chatty tone' of the accompanying article, weakened the divide between public and private in a more immediate way than Murray's gallery.

The contrasting depiction of the author by Murray and *Fraser's* (classical/satirical, original/commoditised) can be linked to the Romantic debate about the changing conception of authorship during the 1820s and early 1830s. Murray's model of authorship, as represented by the portraits, was very much aligned with the idea that the Romantic genius was the sole originator of their work, connoting originality and authenticity. This can be traced back to eighteenth century writers such as Edward Young who described an 'original' as being 'of a vegetable nature; it raises spontaneously from the vital root of genius; it grows, it is not made: Imitations are often a sort of manufacture wrought up by those machines, art, and labour, out of pre-existent materials not their own.' Robert Macfarlane, who has written in detail about the construction of the 'Romantic' author during the nineteenth century, has identified 'two contrasting cultural narratives to explain literary creation' (6), which he names *creatio* and *inventio*. *Creatio*, which connotes inspiration and originality, as opposed to *inventio*, which connotes the rearrangement of pre-existing ideas, is most commonly associated with the Romantic model of authorship. Rather than operating in opposition to one another, however, *creatio* and *inventio* overlapped far more often than some critics of Romantic culture have thought.<sup>21</sup> As Macfarlane suggests, although the Romantics 'did associate genius with originality, they also perceived creativity as a function of description,

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<sup>21</sup> For example, Jerome McGann, *The Romantic Ideology*. Macfarlane attributes the 'myth of Romantic ideology' to McGann in particular, who suggests that the Romantic poets used 'dramas of displacement and idealization', what Macfarlane translates as 'rhetorical strategies of evasiveness' to 'disguise their own involvement in the processes of history and lay claim to transcendence.' To summarise, Macfarlane offers a more balanced model of Romantic authorship which takes into account strategies of transcendence and originality, but which also foregrounds the Romantics' engagement with their literary predecessors, technological changes, and the 'invention' of their 'Romanticism' by others throughout the 1820s and 1830s.



assimilation, and arrangement. They did deplore the effects of influence, imitation and repetition, but they also all had rightly allusive relationships with many of their literary predecessors' (29). This overlap between the two models of authorship, Macfarlane suggests, is a far more realistic account of how the Romantic persona was constructed. As discussed in the Introduction (4-6), it was agents, such as publishers and the periodicals, who increasingly aligned the Romantic brand with the creatio model of authorship that Macfarlane identifies during the 1820s and 1830s. As a result, the 'editing process' (32) which occurred during these decades have presented a distorted view of the Romantics, which over-emphasises the 'originality' of their work to the exclusion of their engagement with literary forefathers, and to an increasing extent, the literary marketplace itself.

The rebranding of the Romantics during the 1820s and 1830s is closely related to the expansion of technological modes of literary production and the commodity culture which accompanied it during these decades. As Nick Groom suggests, this 'caused imitations to be contrasted to the genuine or authentic' (Groom 43) which, Macfarlane notes, 'resulted in the increased valuation of originality (which can be linked to Walter Benjamin's concept of "aura")' (24). New methods of literary production were a stark contrast to the organic nature of literary production which authors like Young had propounded. In *Originality and Imagination*, Thomas Mcfarland describes the difference between the two modes of literary production as causing an 'anxiety that indebted work was in some way equivalent to the unthinking reproduction of machines, that it shared the same homogenized, production-line values' (24). While there was recognition within the industry that new modes of

literary production were a challenge to the creatio model of authorship, it is anachronistic to suggest that this caused ‘anxiety.’ If, as Macfarlane suggests, the creatio model was only fully conceived during the 1820s and 1830s, then it is unlikely that much anxiety would have been felt about the loss of a mode of literary production which had not yet fully come into being. Instead of anxiety, what was evident during the 1820s was an increasing diversification within the trade, as new markets opened up, in large part due to technological changes, which lowered prices of production and selling and enabled publishers like Thomas Tegg<sup>22</sup> and Henry Colburn<sup>23</sup> to reproduce text by Romantic authors on a comparatively large scale to the print runs of quartos which Murray specialised in. While this was a challenge to the ‘originality’ of the Romantic author, in that their works were more widely available, and at a lower price thereby potentially decreasing their exclusivity, for publishers this was also a time of opportunity and a chance to transform the ‘original’ essence of the Romantic author into a new form of saleable commodity.

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<sup>22</sup> Thomas Tegg was a publisher whose profile in the trade rose ‘meteorically’ (Sutherland, ‘Henry Colburn’ 157) from the mid-1820s. Tegg’s success was predominately built upon re-publishing other publishers’ remainder stock.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Colburn’s (c.1784-1855) zenith as a publisher coincided with the death of Byron in the mid-1820s. Prior to this time, Colburn mainly published what John Sutherland describes as ‘miscellaneous pot-boilers’ (Sutherland, ‘Henry Colburn’ 67). In 1820, Colburn started to shape his reputation as it was to remain over the next decade, through ‘sky-high payments’ (68) to authors, the increased circulation of his *New Monthly Magazine*, and a quick turn over of the ‘frothy novels of the day, boosted by the puffing machine’ (70) he had honed during his earlier years. By the late-1820s, Colburn was publishing all the leaders of the ‘silver-fork’ school (70), a genre which was much derided by high society. Accordingly, Colburn was described as being engaged in ‘wholesale literary prostitution’ (59) by Disraeli and became the comical subject of William Makepeace Thackeray’s ‘Bacon and Bungay’ (based upon Colburn and Bentley) in *The History of Pendennis* (1848-1850).

As suggested by Murray's continuing to publish high-end works during the 1820s, and his investment in the drawing-room culture which was very much aligned with the creatio Romantic ideal of authorship, there was still a market for this type of literary fare, in addition to the cheaper markets. The ongoing relevance of Romantic culture during these decades, for Murray, thereby seemed to be due to how successfully he repackaged this ideal for public consumption. A key component in the rebranding of the Romantics was the biography genre. In *The Domestication of Genius*, Julian North traces the development of the rise of biographical writing, in its various forms, during the 1820s. As the publication of new poetry started to decline in the early 1820s, periodicals and annuals became the most profitable ways in which to print poetry. North suggests that articles on the lives of authors became increasingly popular throughout this time, and competed with poetry, to the point that there was more demand to read about an author's life, than to read their work, as suggested by the decline of poetry publications and the rise of biographies.

Alongside the proliferation of articles on authors' lives in the periodicals (North 45),<sup>24</sup> was the increasing popularity of book-length biographies. Although there was a noticeable demand for biographies, there was some resistance to the format 'on the grounds that it opened up the private life of genius to the masses' (North 61). Most relevant to this study are the aspects of 'genius' which were identified, or created, by publishers to appeal to particular readerships. David Higgins' summary of genius is perhaps the most pertinent when considering how

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<sup>24</sup> North provides a comprehensive overview of the articles on authors' lives which featured in such publications as *Monthly Magazine*, *London Magazine*, *Examiner*, *Fraser's Magazine* and the *Athenaeum*.

genius was used as a trademark to signify certain qualities, not only about the author but also the publisher: ‘The essence of genius is its claim to distinctiveness – it stands out from the crowd – and it was offered to consumers by publishers, critics, and authors as a mark of quality at a time of increased literary production’ (Higgins 8). Here we can see some of the ‘editing’ which Macfarlane suggests was responsible for foregrounding the creatio model to the exclusion of the inventio model by third-parties during the 1820s. The construction and control of this ‘distinctiveness’ was one of the most difficult challenges for Murray after Byron’s death as a plethora of biographies were published in quick succession by different publishers.<sup>25</sup>

It may be argued that such biographies diminished Byron’s distinctiveness by making his life available to ‘mass’ readerships. As North points out, however, it was the biography’s appeal to a mass readership which made ‘genius’ accessible to new readers and, rather than diminishing its power, created an ‘intimate relationship’ between reader and author (61). This ‘hermeneutic of intimacy’, as Tom Mole calls it, was integral to the commercial viability of genius. As Mole says: ‘The hermeneutic of intimacy succeeded commercially because it marketed as a commodity an escape from the standardised impersonality of commodity culture [...]. [It] allows readers to imagine that those endlessly copied poems are for them alone, not for the careless multitude’ (25). Higgins has also noted the relationship between intimacy and genius, suggesting that it ‘helped to mark [authors] out within a

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<sup>25</sup> R.C. Dallas. *Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron*. London: Charles Knight, 1824. Thomas Medwin. *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron*. London: Colburn, 1824. James Henry Leigh Hunt. *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries*. London: Colburn, 1828. John Galt. *The Life of Lord Byron*. London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830. Thomas Moore. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*. London: John Murray, 1830.

massively competitive literary marketplace and provided their readers with a sense of intimate connection' (1).

For the hermeneutic of intimacy to succeed, the right balance between disclosure about an author's life and the mystique, or 'aura', of their innate 'genius' needed to be maintained. This was achieved to varying degrees by different publishers, as they constructed their version of particular authors to appeal to various readerships. In the biographies published after Byron's death we can see a dialogue between them as they each claimed to be a greater authority on Byron's life than its predecessor (North 66). Thomas Medwin's *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824) was the earliest, and boldest, advocate of foregrounding as many aspects of Byron's life as possible in the name of public interest (North 64). Not surprisingly, given that Byron was Murray's most prized asset, Murray opposed Medwin's publication, which is discussed in detail below. Murray's infamous burning of Byron's journals also added to the furore over the public's right to biographical details. For Murray, who understood the selling power of authors' lives, he was keen to retain control over Byron's posthumous image. The burning of Byron's journal in the drawing room of Albemarle Street is, therefore, poignantly symbolic. Just as he had constructed Byron's image in life, partly through the portraits that hung in his drawing room, he was now to control his image in death, the beginnings of which took place at the very fire place over which Byron's portrait still hung.

### **Medwin and Murray**

It is certainly evident that Murray invested in Albemarle Street, but is there any evidence, which is more than anecdotal or circumstantial, that the literary coterie at No 50 had any bearing on the success of a title or an author's reputation? A letter from R. C. Dallas to Murray foregrounds how powerful the verbal culture at literary soirées could be in promoting a book or a new author:

I wish you would think of what passed between us respecting the republication of my three novels, with an additional volume of other writings by subscription. As to putting up proposals in the shop, it would be of no use – it is only by individual friendly recommendation that the object can be obtained – If you think your mentioning it to your literary friends would be productive of the advancement of the plan (and it would not but be so if they were to expose its interest) I shall esteem it as a great mark of friendship. (MS.40307)

Fiona MacCarthy in her biography of Byron also notes how 'the early nineteenth century was an energetically verbal period. Byron's reputation was formed by the praises and caresses of society, as it was eventually savaged by the circulating rumours and malicious innuendoes of the chattering classes of the day' (xviii).

MacCarthy further notes how Byron's correspondence was often written to Murray in the hope that it would be read aloud in front of an audience at Albemarle Street:

[Byron's] tendency to treat correspondence as performance was now boosted by Byron's consciousness that Murray would be reading out his letters proprietarily to the gathering of literary cronies beneath Thomas Phillips' portrait of Byron in the Albemarle Street drawing room. The letters from Venice were an act of defiance, ebullient proof for himself as well as others of Byron's ability to rise above disgrace (xviii).

A letter from Basil Hall also provides additional evidence of the culture of verbal communication that permeated London's literary society. In this case, the

communications travelled from London as far as Edinburgh: ‘We hear London news in this town of ours very slowly – but the literary gossips say that you have a new editor for the *Quarterly Review* – is it so? – and who may it be?’ (MS.40504).<sup>26</sup>

The way in which information circulated between members of the House is also evident in further correspondence between a number of figures. While Murray had the ultimate say over the direction of the House, his inner circle were very important in extinguishing internal conflicts while also providing valuable advice on publication matters. In relation to Blackwood’s, Finkelstein notes how

“‘Blackwoodian’ contributors were drawn into debating about, commenting on, and in many cases actively shaping texts emerging under the firm’s imprint’ (16).

Reading through the range of materials available in the John Murray Archive, rather than focusing on one particular author-publisher relation, one notices the volume of letters between Murray and a significant number of correspondents that discuss the production of forthcoming titles, in addition to observations on politics and public life, and, sometimes, more personal comments about another author. Over time, it is evident that these letters played an important role in maintaining the shared culture of the House identity.

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<sup>26</sup> Patrick Leary in *The Punch Brotherhood: Table-talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* also explores the ‘pervasive medium of oral culture’ (1) in the creation and dissemination of mid-nineteenth century publications. In Chapter Three, Leary explores how ‘gossip’ articulated in the private space of the publisher’s House could percolate out into wider society, shaping the reception of literary works. One method which Leary identifies, and which was common to Murray authors, was the weekly dinner party held at the *Punch* headquarters (59). Here, members would pick up the latest literary gossip, which they were then likely repeat at their other social engagements that week. This is also another reason why Murray preferred his authors to be ‘connected’ with other important members of society.

In spite of their contribution to an array of matters, Murray did not assign a formal literary adviser. Such arrangement sometimes aroused suspicion amongst the inner circle that clandestine communications were taking place. In ‘Byron’s Publisher and His “Spy”’: Constancy and change among John Murray II’s printers, 1812-1831’ Peter Isaac explores the relations between Murray and his printer Thomas Davison which led Byron to write to Douglas Kinnaird in September 1822, ‘are you quite sure that Davison is not his sub-agent or middleman in secret to negotiate for Don Juan and yet kept behind the curtains[?]’ (23). Although Murray did not hire an official adviser until 1841, Angus Fraser has noted how figures such as Gifford, Barrow and Lockhart acted as ‘sporadic advisers’ (9) on manuscripts. Although they did not receive the professional recognition that the Miltons<sup>27</sup> did, these ‘sporadic advisers’ were integral to the publishing of some of Murray’s most successful publications. When Murray appointed Lockhart as the new *Quarterly Review* editor in 1825, Lockhart signed two legal documents. The first related to the *Quarterly Review* editorship, but also included the clause ‘and to otherwise assist in the business’ (MS. 42445). The second deed outlined Lockhart’s obligation to provide Murray with ‘hints and tips’ and occasional articles for *The Representative*.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Angus Fraser. ‘A Publishing House and Its Readers, 1841-1880: The Murrays and the Miltons.’ 1990. The Miltons were a family who worked for Murray in the capacity of readers during the years approximately 1840-1880. The first Milton, Henry, was appointed by Murray in 1841. Fraser suggests that Henry became acquainted with Murray by virtue of being Fanny Trollope’s brother (12).

<sup>28</sup> *The Representative* was a newspaper which Murray founded in 1826. While the House’s profits were bolstered by the *Quarterly Review*, a stalwart of the periodical market, Murray did not have a comparable publication in the lucrative newspaper market. It ran for six months between January-July 1826 and lost Murray some £26,000. For a detailed overview of *The Representative* see Joanne Shattock. *Politics and Reviewers: The Edinburgh and the Quarterly in the Early Victorian Age* and Samuel Smiles. *A Publisher and His Friends*.



The clause contained in the first deed has tended to be overlooked when considering the role which Lockhart played, which has tended to focus on the *Quarterly Review*. Not long after he joined Murray in 1825, however, Lockhart was also tasked with deciding which publications would be most beneficial to the House. In July 1826 he wrote to Murray to advise him on the state of the poetry market:

In regard to Wordsworth I certainly cannot doubt that it must be creditable to any publisher to publish the works of one who is and must continue to be a classic Poet of England. Your adventure with Crabbe, however, ought to be a lesson of much caution.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, again, W's poems must become more popular, else why so many editions in the course of the last few years. There have been two of the Excursion alone and I know that these have not satisfied the public. (MS.42445)

While most of the letters are about matters concerned with production and publication, Lockhart and Murray himself also used them to maintain the unspoken hierarchy at Albemarle Street. When negotiating copyright payment with Henry Hart Milman, for example, Milman was given the decision to fix the copyright sum at any price he would like. Milman was then at a loss whether to ask Murray for a 'Byron or Scott price, or such as is given to the first essay of a new author' (MS.42445). The financial freedom Murray initially bestowed upon Milman was regrettable as Milman then demanded payment which was disproportionate to the success of his work, a pattern which Murray did not shy away from pointing out: 'You appear not to be aware that it is a much larger sum, considering their sale, than ever was given to Lord Byron' (Smiles 106). Murray's use of Byron to pull rank over other authors was a tactic which he used more than once (as will be seen in regard to the sales of

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<sup>29</sup> This is a reference to the financial losses Murray made when publishing Crabbe's poetry. The losses Murray incurred are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two of this thesis.

Crabbe's works in Chapter Two). The high payments which Murray's top authors commanded seemed to be shared knowledge within the inner circle. In a letter from Murray to J.L.Knapp he justifies his high copyright payment to Theodore Hook which 'is in consequence of the very great popularity of the author's name, besides writing upon a universally popular line' (MS.41909).

The most salient example of how the circulation of correspondence, both spoken and written, could impact upon an author's reputation, and how valuable Murray deemed his inner circle to be to his own success, is the episode between Thomas Medwin and Murray in regards to the publication of Medwin's *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* in 1824. Throughout this time, Murray's own recognition of the importance of his literary coterie is evident when his working relationship with Byron became ensnared in a public dispute in 1824. Following Byron's death, numerous authors published biographies of the poet and his life, such as Medwin's *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824), R.C. Dallas's *Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron* (1824), Leigh Hunt's *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries* (1828), Thomas Moore's *Letters and Journals* (1830), and John Galt's *The Life of Lord Byron* (1830). Medwin's publication was the most problematic of the biographies for Murray, as it included passages, supposedly communicated by Byron, defaming the relationship between him and the publisher. The book appeared in fifteen editions between 1824-1842, and was published in six countries, which, as Medwin's biographer Ernest J. Lovell notes 'influenced the poet's public image greatly' (viii).

As previously mentioned, Julian North in *The Domestication of Genius* suggests that the proliferation of biographies on the Romantic poets during the 1820s ‘produced the “Romantic poet” for popular consumption’ (3). Like North, Macfarlane also uses the word ‘editing’ to describe the processes which were undertaken to ‘Romanticise’ the poets during the 1820s. The posthumous biographies of Byron were very much a part of this editing process. Fortunately, thanks to the completeness of the John Murray Archive, an insight into this editing process and how it relates to Murray can be uncovered. The correspondence between Medwin and Murray during the mid-1820s shows the extent of Murray’s concerns over the re-branding of Byron by other authors and publishers following his death in 1824. The Medwin/Murray episode shows the lengths Murray went to in counteracting, what he deemed to be, an inappropriate and misleading representation of Byron’s life and the poet’s relationship with himself.

At the centre of Medwin’s and Murray’s feud over the publication of *Conversations* was which version of Byron was the more suitable for public viewing. Medwin was adamant that all the details of Byron’s life, both good and bad, should be presented to the public. In this respect, his biography was comparable to *Fraser’s* later *Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters*, with its willingness to present before the public an image of the author that was informal, chatty, ‘conversational’, as the title of the book itself suggested. As *Fraser’s* would later do, Medwin’s biography also attempted to gain cultural authority by criticising the actions of others, as is evident from the first paragraph of *Conversations*:

‘A great poet belongs to no country; his works are public property, and his Memoirs the inheritance of the public.’ Such were the sentiments of Lord Byron; and have they been attended to? Has not a manifest injustice been done to the world, and an injury to his memory, by the destruction of his Memoirs? These are questions which it is now late, perhaps needless to ask; but I will endeavour to lessen, if not to remedy, the evil (xv).

Medwin’s emphasis on the ‘public’ right to Byron’s original journals clearly contrasts with Murray’s desire to carefully control how Byron’s ‘public’ persona was presented to society. That Medwin was determined to expose the fissures in both Byron’s, and Murray’s, public image is also evident in the imagery he uses in outlining the aim of his biography: ‘My sketch will be an imperfect and rough one, it is true, but it will be from the life; and slight as it is, may prove more valuable, perhaps, than a finished drawing from memory. It will be anything but a panegyric: my aim is to paint him as he was’ (viii).

Medwin’s emphasis on depicting Byron through overtly visual language provides the reader with continuity, for Byron was one of the most widely recognised and replicated images of the Romantic poets. Medwin seems intent on deconstructing this perfectly painted facade, however, by ‘paint[ing] him as he was’. By extension, Medwin attacks Murray, the director of Byron’s ‘public’ image. As discussed above, Murray invested large sums of money in commissioning the most respected portraitists of the time to paint the ‘panegyric’ portraits that he displayed in Albemarle Street and replicated in chosen Byron publications.

As suggested previously, the title of Medwin’s biography further attempted to permeate the barrier between public and private spheres. The word ‘conversations’ brought Byron into the everyday realm of conversation, gossip, and innuendo,

making him accessible to the reader, which exemplifies the ‘hermeneutic of intimacy’ which Mole identifies. In the case of *Conversations*, Medwin appears to be attempting to construct a relationship between Byron and a readership who were unlikely to have been the one who bought Byron’s original publications, such as the expensive quartos first printed by Murray. *Conversations* was published as a quarto, selling at £1-11s (London Magazine, November 1824). Although still expensive, this was half the price of some of Murray’s quartos, suggesting that Colburn, who was Medwin’s publisher, was trying to appeal to a broader readership than that which Murray had sold Byron’s original works to.

In seeking to bring the intimacies of Byron’s life home to this readership, however, it is evident that Medwin was aware of the fine line he walked between authenticity and exaggeration, as the preface to the third London edition suggests, wherein Medwin defends the source of his knowledge of Byron:

How I became acquainted with so many particulars of his history, so many incidents of his life, so many of his opinions, is easily explained. They were communicated during a period of many months’ familiar intercourse, without any injunctions to secrecy, and committed to paper for the sake of reference only (xvi).

A heated response from John Wilson Croker suggests that Medwin’s transformation of private conversation into public knowledge was in breach of an unspoken code of conduct within the literary world, and re-emphasises the difference between publishers such as Colburn, and Murray and his inner circle:

Good God! Can Mr Medwin have deceived himself into a belief, that a man of honour is at liberty to publish, in print and to all the world, everything which he has heard during any period of familiar and confidential intercourse, unless his friend shall have cautiously premised on each occasion an

*injunction of secrecy?* ... Unless Mr Medwin can give some other and better explanation than he has done, no one can hesitate to pronounce his publication to be a most unjustifiable breach of private confidence, and an example, which, if it were to prevail, would loosen all the bonds of social life, and destroy all confidence, friendship, and happiness amongst mankind (xvi).

The offending passages in *Conversations* largely depict Murray as a money-driven tradesman who succumbs to the whims and demands of his inner circle:

‘Murray’ said [Byron], ‘pretends to have lost money by my writings, and pleads poverty: but if he is poor, which is somewhat problematical to me, pray who is to blame? The fault is in his having purchased, at the instance of his great friends, during the last year, so many expensive Voyages and Travels, which all his influence with *The Quarterly* cannot persuade people to buy, cannot puff into popularity’ (203).

This is quite the opposite of the ‘gentleman publisher’ that Murray tried to portray himself as. Indeed, within *Conversations* Murray is referred to as a bookseller numerous times, but never publisher.<sup>30</sup>

In defence of his reputation Murray promptly wrote a pamphlet titled ‘Notes on Captain’s Medwin’s *Conversations of Lord Byron*’. The pamphlet was first sent to twenty-two of Murray’s closest friends before being published for public viewing in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*. Murray’s need to uphold his professional integrity in the eyes of his inner circle suggests how important his confidants were to his own success. The replies from the recipients of the pamphlet were kept by Murray. One reply, from E. H. Locker suggest that ‘Lord Byron still excites so much attention and your name is so closely connected with his works, that in refutation of such weighty charges I think you could not do less than publish the present statement, and ought not to do more’ (E. H. Locker to JMII, November 3<sup>rd</sup> 1824, MS.42461). Another

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<sup>30</sup> For example, ‘Mr John Murray is the most nervous of God’s booksellers’, (168).

seems to restore Murray's 'gentlemanly' status: 'It is impossible to conceive a more decisive and important answer, or one more temperate and gentleman-like; and I congratulate you sincerely on its complete success' (J. Wishaw to JMII, November 10<sup>th</sup> 1824, MS.42469).

A further letter is from Thomas Phillips, who is keen to restore both Murray's and Byron's image through another 'panegyric' portrait:

Mr Phillips presents his compliments to Mr Murray and thanks him for the paper he sent him in relation to the *Conversations of Lord Byron* [...]. Mr Phillips is about to publish a print of Lord Byron upon a large scale and as perhaps Mr Murray may feel an interest in its being well done, Mr P sends an unfinished impression of it for his inspection and would like to have the benefit of his remarks. He would also wish, if it were not [trouble] to Mr Murray, to have an opportunity of composing it with the picture in his possession which Mr P regards as the most just resemblance of those which he had the honour to paint of his Lordship. (Thomas Phillips to JMII, November 4<sup>th</sup> 1824, MS.42469)

Murray also wrote to Colburn, Medwin's publisher, demanding that he send him a copy of the deleted passage which had caused so much controversy. The passage, which was represented by asterisks in the first edition of *Conversations*, somehow referred to the publication of Byron's 'Cain', 'The Two Foscari', and 'Sardanapalus'. The original passage omitted the line which is below inserted in brackets:

My differences with Murray are not over. When he purchased 'Cain', 'The Two Foscari', and 'Sardanapalus', he sent me a deed, which you may remember with-keeping. Well after its return to England it was discovered that [it contained a clause which had been introduced without my knowledge – a clause by which I bound myself to offer Mr Murray all my future publications] – But I shall take no notice of it.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The brackets indicate the asterisked passages

Instead of requesting Colburn to remove the passage from *Conversations*, Murray asks that it be printed in the next edition, in its entirety, as the following reply from Colburn suggests: ‘I received yesterday afternoon from Mr Glynn, said to be written at your desire, requesting a copy of the lines omitted at page 170 of Lord Byron’s *Conversations* and requiring as a matter of justice that those lines should be inserted in any future reprint of the work’ (Colburn to JMII, October 28<sup>th</sup> 1824, MS.42469).

Colburn seems to be puzzled by Murray’s request when he claims to have omitted the lines ‘chiefly as a matter of delicacy towards yourself’ (MS.42469). Colburn sought legal advice from his lawyer and states later in the letter that he shall not ‘furnish [Murray] with a copy or print them until I shall have received under your own hand a proper guarantee that both myself and the author shall be absolved from all liability to action in consequence either in law or equity’ (MS.42469). Murray responded to Colburn, agreeing to his conditions, and again ‘requir[ing] [Colburn] to print [the asterisked passage], and to cancel the page already reprinted without it, as an act of justice to myself’ (JMII to Colburn, October 30<sup>th</sup> 1824, MS. 42469).

Murray’s defiance seems, at first, to be confusing. Unbeknown to both Colburn and Medwin, however, was that the physical piece of paper containing the alleged deed to Byron’s three plays no longer existed, as Murray writes to Croker: ‘I told you at the same time I could make oath that I never observed the man’s name to the deed – which deed is no longer in existence’ (MS.42470). This is contradictory to what Murray wrote in his pamphlet: ‘He [Medwin] had only to observe upon the subject, that, on referring to the Deed in question, no such clause is to be found; that this instrument was signed in London by the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, as Lord



Byron's procurator, ... and that the signature of Captain Medwin is not affixed' (Lovell 188). It seems that Murray is trying to evade the accusation brought against him by Medwin on a matter of technicality. Murray's use of the word 'observed' seems to imply that, as no such clause existed in an observable physical form, such as writing, then no such clause was ever made. It is possible, however, that a clause may have been inserted verbally during his negotiations with Byron. This would certainly not be the first, or the last time, that Murray made business arrangements in this manner. As there is no written evidence to corroborate Medwin's or Murray's assertions either way this incident remains unexplained.

At this time Murray also censored a review of Medwin's *Conversations*, written by Croker, which was intended for publication in the *Quarterly*. The review was never published, but three proofs of the article and correspondence between Croker and Murray remain in the Archive and reveal why it was never publically printed. The review begins with Croker condemning Medwin's publication:

We should indeed not have noticed this publication at all, but that public justice and the peace and well-being of society require that we should visit such an attempt with the severest punishment our literary authority can announce, and endeavour to extinguish at once these base attempts at turning a penny by the prostitution of so noble a name, and the betraying of so high a confidence. (MS.42470)

As can be seen, Croker did not restrain himself in castigating *Conversations* as a publication which would threaten the very 'justice' and 'peace' of society. The rhetoric that Croker employs, which depicts the House of Murray as the moral exemplars of 'literary authority' in a battle against the 'base' publications which are akin to prostitution in the meretricious spectacle of private life which they portray,

distances Murray from the ‘penny’ cheapness of Colburn’s degenerate literary fare. Although Murray approved of the beginning of Croker’s review, it is clear that his commendation did not extend past this point. As the review progresses, the rancorous tone is countenanced by Croker’s seemingly detached view of the harm Medwin’s book had caused Murray:

We are ready to confess that we begin this inquiry with a predisposition to agree in this opinion: the character of Lord Byron is more interesting to us than that of Mr Medwin; and as Mr Medwin cannot, in any review of the case, be blameless, we certainly wished that the whole blame could be fairly attributed to him. But an impartial consideration of all the circumstances has disabled us from coming to this conclusion [...]. After all, we see no good reason to suppose that his inaccuracies are more frequent than the transmission of recollected conversations to paper is necessarily subject to, and the instances in which errors of any considerable importance have been detected are not many, nor such as to effect in any serious degree the impression as to Lord Byron himself, which the general character of the work must excite. (MS.42470)

These paragraphs are scrawled out by Murray, as are some fourteen pages following this paragraph to the end of the manuscript. Murray also sent the following letter to Croker in response to his reading of the review:

When I sent the review of Captain Medwin to you last night I had not read a line of it – The opening I admire greatly – but I had no conception that my case would have been made for me [...] it is really most distressing to my feelings. I have – against my ..... of life been forced into the newspapers – but I can with great humility – and in every way can ..... with the character of one who is perfectly courteous to take the imputation of being “one of the most nervous of God’s booksellers.”<sup>32</sup> But when at the end of the review I find a statement which could have arisen only out of confidential conversation with me – I was overwhelmed with regret. (MS.42470)

Murray primarily takes offence at Croker’s intended publication of ‘confidential conversation’ which took place between them. By publishing such material Croker

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<sup>32</sup> Murray refers to a previous letter from Croker wherein he greets Murray with this epitaph

was, in effect, following Medwin's example. The unspoken code of secrecy which the earlier letter from Croker to Murray suggests seems to have been forgotten by Croker as he wrote this review. The 'overwhelming regret' which Murray felt must have been predicated on the feelings of betrayal and untrustworthiness towards Croker, a valued member of his inner circle, at this time as he began to renege on the gentlemanly values upon which the House was built, and which still differentiated Murray's brand from the opportunism exhibited by Medwin and Colburn.

In *Conversations*, Medwin also castigated Murray's relations with authors other than Byron. He draws attention to Murray's recent lawsuit with *Domestic Cookery* author, Maria Elizabeth Rundell, who was seeking to transfer publishers to Longman's following a dispute between her and Murray over copyright payment. Whether this had the negative impact upon Murray's reputation that Medwin describes is made uncertain by a letter from Sharon Turner to Murray in 1821, which reveals how Murray emerged from the lawsuit relatively unscathed:

The desecration on the Cookery Book has made but one impression everywhere and highly to your credit. Even the *Literary Gazette*, which you do not, I believe, much befriend, shared this feeling. I told Mr Shadwell<sup>33</sup> what you had authorised me to do if they abandoned all legal proceedings, and he expressed himself shortly on your handsome conduct. Mrs R has therefore only augmented your reputation by her attack, and this is really one of the highest prizes of human life, which few get, and if they do get can keep. (Sharon Turner to JMII, November 26<sup>th</sup> 1821, MS.41646)

The lawsuit did, however, continue after 1821 with Rundell rejecting Murray's 'friendly arrangements' (Sharon Turner to JMII, December 20<sup>th</sup> 1821, MS.41614) for

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<sup>33</sup> From what I can gather from this correspondence, Mr Shadwell was Maria Rundell's lawyer.

a civil conclusion to the litigation. Further letters from Turner to Murray in June 1822 outline in detail the case Turner put to the jury, such as ‘that the title was your invention; that you ordered and paid for the plates; that you paid all the expense of the printing, that you entered it at Stationer’s Hall’ etc. Turner also lays out Rundell’s counter argument; ‘Did she even know of this entry? Did any person hear her give it to you – or hear her say anything to you about the work?’ (MS.41646). A further letter reveals that the dispute still continued into 1824: ‘I am preparing the bill – Counsel seem not to doubt that you can stop her from using your title and all improvement – and also that you can [...] go on publishing the whole book, though you may not be able to hinder her also publishing all that is yours.’<sup>34</sup> (MS.41646).

Although Medwin’s *Conversations* incited Murray’s anger over the posthumous representation of Byron, it was not until after the publication of Leigh Hunt’s *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries* (1828) that Murray decided to commission his own Byron biography. In January 1828 Murray wrote to Thomas Moore: ‘In consequence of Hunt’s infamous publication respecting Lord Byron I have felt it a duty no longer to withhold the means which I think I possess of doing justice to Lord Byron’s character’ (JMII to Thomas Moore, January 25<sup>th</sup> 1828, MS. 41910). Murray had previously commissioned Moore to write a biography of Byron’s life in 1821, prior to the poet’s death. The ledger book from this time shows that a sum of £2,100 was paid to Moore in 1821 under the account of ‘Byron’s Burnt Memoirs’, a title obviously written in the ledger book after 1824. Moore repaid this copyright payment to Murray, with interest, in May 1824 (MS.42725, Folio 274).

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<sup>34</sup> For more on *Murray v Rundell* see Peter Isaac. ‘Maria Elizabeth Rundell and Her Publisher.’ 1998.

Between 1828 and 1830 Murray spent £8791-11s-9d on production expenses for the first edition of Moore's *Life of Byron* as the following account shows:

|            |  |  |
|------------|--|--|
| April 1828 | To cash paid for the copyright with interest from the day of the agreement | £3020-19-2d (paid to Longmans to discharge Moore's bond to them) |
| July 1829  | To remainder of Copyrights   | £1200 (paid to Thomas Moore)                                     |
|            | Paid for portrait of T. Moore  | £105   |
|            | To printing, Davison, Vol I  | £639-18-3d   |
|            | 513 reams, demy  | £666-18s   |
|            | To note/4145/to author   | £100   |
|            | To Mrs Shelley   | £100   |
|            | To remainder for portraits of Moore  | £105   |
| 1830       | To printing – Clowes   | £6-15s   |
|            | To engraving portrait, Finden  | £316-1-0d  |
|            | 663 Reams, Demy  | £861-18s   |
|            | To Printing, Davison, Vol II   | £836-2-9d  |
|            | Entering at Stationer's Hall   | 2s   |
|            | Advertising  | £90-18-0d  |
|            | Working Portrait, Macqueen   | £90-18s  |
|            | Boarding 3040 copies of Vol I  | £291-18s   |
|            | Boarding 3044 copies of Vol II   | £292-6s  |
|            |  | Total: £8791-11s-9d  |

The large amounts spent on printing, engraving, boarding and advertising suggest that Murray was seeking to restore his and Byron's blighted reputations by

presenting the public with another polished image of the poet.<sup>35</sup> This is further suggested by Murray's choice of printer for this edition. Davison was renowned as 'an excellent and an elegant printer'<sup>36</sup> and had also been Murray's primary printer for Byron's works throughout most of the poet's career. Murray's reversion back to Davison at this time is perhaps an attempt to restore both his and Byron's earlier reputations in the aftermath of the defamatory biographies by realigning Byron, and himself, with the poet's former publications, the physicality of which connoted class, prestige, exclusivity, and, above all, originality.

### **Travel and Exploration Publications**

Although Byron's publications occupied a significant amount of Murray's attention during the 1820s, this period was also characterised by works of travel and exploration. Like Byron's works, the travel and exploration authors added to the overall prestige of the House. This was underscored by Murray's own personal connections to members of the Admiralty, and the publication of the Navy List which was printed every three months in runs of between 2,700-3,250 (MS.42725).

Murray's reputation as publisher to the Admiralty was enhanced throughout the early-nineteenth century through his association with Sir John Barrow. Barrow's position as Second Secretary meant that he was amongst the most influential people

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<sup>35</sup> William St Clair in *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* and Julian North in *The Domestication of Genius* have also noted the high price of Moore's first edition.

<sup>36</sup> T. F. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, cited in Peter Isaac. 'Byron's Publisher and His "Spy": Constancy and Change among John Murray II's Printers, 1812-1831.'

in the Admiralty, and, with an annual salary of £1,000, was also amongst the upper echelons of society based on income. Through his role in the Admiralty, Barrow forged many political connections, including John Wilson Croker and Benjamin D'Israeli, both of whom were closely connected to Murray at various points in their careers. Barrow's status was further enhanced when he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1806, strengthening his connections to the leading men from a number of fields at the Royal Society Club dinners.<sup>37</sup>

Shortly after his election to the Royal Society, Barrow was being courted by Canning, who was seeking his naval and exploration expertise for the *Quarterly Review*. In 1809 Canning wrote to Barrow: 'I wish to enlist you in our corps, not as a mere advising idler, but as an efficient labourer in our friend Gifford's vineyard' (Smiles, Vol I: 167).<sup>38</sup> It is interesting to note Canning's turn of phrase in this passage in the context of the above discussion on literary advisers. The distinction between 'mere advising idler' and 'efficient labourer' suggests that Barrow would be welcomed into the inner workings of the House, rather than occupying an 'idle' role on the periphery. In regard to the hierarchy which Murray created through his networks of advisers, this suggests that recruiting Barrow was deemed to be integral to the running of the *Quarterly Review* and the House.

As the high volume of letters in the John Murray archive demonstrates, Barrow did indeed become a highly valued adviser and contributor to the *Quarterly*

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<sup>37</sup> J.M.R. Cameron in 'John Barrow, the *Quarterly Review*'s Imperial Empire', published in Jonathan Cutmore, *Conservatism and the Quarterly Review*, provides the details of Barrow's life.

<sup>38</sup> William Gifford (1756-1826) edited the *Quarterly Review* between 1809-1824 (Smiles 94).

*Review*. Over the course of his *Quarterly Review* career, Barrow contributed in excess of two hundred articles. His articles significantly contributed to the sales of the *Quarterly Review* as Barrow reflected in his autobiography: 'I had a letter from Murray to say that, in consequence of a certain article, the sale of the *Review* had very much increased. This article was published in the year 1817-1818, and the enquiry into was the extent of the Polar Sea, and the proofs of a communication through it between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans' (Smiles 42). As Barrow's article was so popular, Murray had the idea of publishing them as a separate collection. Ever the adviser, even when his own interests were involved, Barrow warned Murray not to make the collection too expensive for fear of ridicule by some quarters of the press. Murray's decadent approach to his travel and exploration publications was the source of criticism by some who viewed their opulent, often quarto, production to be excessive (Cavell 47). Nonetheless, the quarto format which such books took, and for which Murray became renowned in the early-1820s, was frequently used to print the travel and exploration publications.

In addition to providing valuable *Quarterly Review* articles, Barrow became a regular face at Albemarle Street. In 1822 he spent New Year with the Murrays, amongst the company of the D'Israelis and Croker, where they were all presented with pocket-books by Murray as New Year gifts. There are many examples of Murray's penchant for gift-giving to members of the inner circle in the archival letters.<sup>39</sup> Most of the gifts were books and portraits of Murray authors, further

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<sup>39</sup> For example, in a couple of letters from Lockhart to Murray, dated less than two months apart, Lockhart thanks Murray for the gift of Galignani's *Poets* (March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1837) and the gift of a desk to his



binding the members together through a cohesive network of favours. While the majority of Murray's gifts appear to be in gratitude of the success which a particular author may have brought to the House, there is, at times, the sense that Murray used gifts as a way to control his authors, as Barrow's thank you note to Murray for a present of books suggests wherein he says, 'I shall never be out of your debt.'<sup>40</sup>

This sometimes worked both ways, however, as the various requests from members of the inner circle to Murray suggest. In 1841, for example, Barrow wrote to Murray on behalf of his son, John Barrow, who was seeking a publisher for his travel work. The following letter from Murray to Barrow demonstrates the reluctance with which Murray felt obliged to commit to various undertakings which would not be to his advantage:

Books of travel are so numerous in the present age, that the public interest in them, is much damped, and the demand for them, considerably diminished. However, as I do not like to disturb long standing companions I request you to submit to your son the two following proposals. I will give fifty guineas for his MS, payable at six months from the day of its publication, which I should not desire to take place, before the travelling season commences. Or, I will print an edition of one thousand copies and after they are sold, will give the author half the profits and let the copyright remain, after this edition, entirely the property of Mr John Barrow. (5<sup>th</sup> January 1841, MS.41911)

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son (April 16<sup>th</sup> 1837) (MS.42451). In the summer of that year, Lockhart writes again to Murray to thank him for the 'beautiful edition' of Byron he sent (MS.42451).

<sup>40</sup> Rather than being a gratuitous act of giving, it can be suggested that Murray used gifts as a way to strengthen his social bonds between himself and chosen members of the inner circle. As Marcel Mauss suggests in *The Gift*, gifts, like commodities, are caught in a system of exchange, with the giver expecting something in return. Additionally, according to Mauss, the gift always evokes the giver, 'the objects are never completely separated from the men who exchange them' (31). In terms of brand identity, the giving of gifts was therefore another way in which Murray was able to strengthen the ties between himself and his authors, and a way to keep them in his debt.

The small payment of fifty guineas, coupled with John Barrow's option to retain the copyright, clearly demonstrate Murray's low opinion of the work and its small chance of selling well.

Barrow also played a significant part in advising Murray on the works of travel and exploration which he published during the early-1820s. Through the publication of Franklin and Parry's travels, in particular, Murray achieved much financial success. His reputation was also enhanced by having the privilege of being the chosen publisher by the Admiralty to print the 'exclusive' first editions of these works. In a letter from Barrow to Murray, Barrow reminds Murray that much of the success garnered by the travel and exploration works hinged upon Murray being the first publisher to offer the narratives to the public.<sup>41</sup> While this was a great boon for the House, it also left Murray open to closer scrutiny from the press and public when he did not publish the works on time. As Barrow wrote to Murray: 'I feel, as Captain Sabine and every office employed on the voyage must feel, that yourself, and above all, the Public, at whose expense the voyage was performed, have reason to complain of the shameful delay and apparent neglect that have taken place, and which certainly call for public explanation' (MS.40056). The damage caused by such delays also impacted negatively upon the author concerned, as Parry wrote to Murray: 'The delay which has occurred in the printing [of my journal], and in which, as you are aware, I have had no concern, has hitherto given me uneasiness, chiefly because it

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<sup>41</sup> 'I beg leave most respectfully to state, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I have paid to Captain W.E. Parry the sum of One Thousand Guineas for the entire copyright of his 'Journal for the late Voyage for the Discovery of the North-West Passage,' and also for the exclusive right of first publication on that subject, which I was assured their Lordships had vested in me and would secure to Captain Parry' (Smiles 99).

evidently appears to the admiralty as a dereliction of duty on my part, and to the public as if I was ashamed to publish it. Now, I cannot possibly be comfortable under either of these suppositions, or even the possibility of such suppositions'

(MS.40921). The potential abuse of public funds which could be levelled against the House was a serious charge and one which could undermine the great advantages Murray otherwise enjoyed from the arrangement. The line between benefit and disadvantage which could befall the House from its involvement with these publications was one which was negotiated by Murray throughout this time.

### **Parry and Franklin**

Between 1821 and 1826, Murray published all of Parry's works.<sup>42</sup> The works were expensive undertakings, but were also highly profitable. For Parry's first voyage, Murray spent a total of £4,758-12s on production expenses, with £198-12-5d of this number being spent on advertising and £1,050 on copyright. If we compare this

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<sup>42</sup> *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the years 1819-20, in His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper with an Appendix Containing the Scientific and Other Observations* (1821), *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the Years 1821-22-23, in His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla, under the Orders of Captain William Edward Parry* (1824), *Supplement to the Appendix of Captain Parry's First Voyage* (1824), *Appendix to Captain Parry's Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla in the Years 1821-22-23* (1825) and *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the Years 1824-25 in His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Fury, Under the Orders of Captain William Edward Parry* (1826)

figure to the publication of Byron's most expensive works, it is still high, demonstrating the investment Murray was making in this area. The profit which Murray made on the first voyage was £1629-11-7d, which is not surprising given that the book was sold at £3-13-6d. The production expenses and profit for the *Second Voyage* (1824) were similar to the first. The production expenses totalled £4820, with £1,250 of that figure being spent on copyright. The work was sold at the even dearer price of £4-14-6d, yielding a total profit of £1820-7-9d. In 1826, profits on the *Third Voyage* decreased. All the figures for copyright, sales, and profit suggest that the *Third Voyage* was a comparatively frugal undertaking. Parry was paid £315 for the copyright, with the work being sold for £2-10 (although still published as a quarto), with a profit of £340-8-6d.<sup>43</sup>

The quarto format and high prices which Parry's books commanded incited a backlash against Murray from some areas of the press, as Janice Cavell notes. Cavell's study on the production and reception of Parry's *Third Voyage* provides a valuable insight into the criticism which 'mak[ing] big books for Mr Murray' could present. This comment, taken from the *Naval Sketch Book* (February 1826) is one example of the backlash which ensued against Murray's 'polar print nexus' (Craciun 440), a term coined by Adriana Craciun to describe the monopoly Murray exercised over this market, aided in large part by his 'formalised links to centralised authority', such as his contacts at the Admiralty. Cavell suggests that Murray's early exploration publications, such as Parry's first and second voyages, were marketed at the upper-class, and even bibliophile, readerships. The quarto format, the high sales price, the

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<sup>43</sup> All figures are taken from MS.42725, and the sales books 1820-1822, 1823-1825, 1826-1827.

lavish engravings all made Murray's books exclusive objects of beauty and prestige, which only the very wealthy could afford. Like the books in his own drawing room, these exploration publications were intended for display. As Cavell writes; 'When newly purchased by a wealthy family, quartos would be placed on the drawing room table, where visitors could glance through them and admire their engravings; later, they would be transferred to the shelves of the library – often without ever having been read' (58).

For publications which were intended to recount the travels of explorers whose expeditions had been funded by the public, the opulent nature of their production clearly prevented many from buying them. Cavell suggests that Parry's *Third Voyage* was published at a time when criticism against Murray was at its highest (47). As noted above, the *Third Voyage* was the least successful of Parry's publications. It is not clear whether Murray decided to lower the sale price for this publication in response to such criticism. As Sutherland notes, 1826 was not a financially stable year, which may also have affected book buying and publishers' pricing across a range of genres and readerships.

If we look at the production and sales figures for Franklin's narratives it is evident that this dip in pricing was only temporary, suggesting that Murray was not unduly concerned about the criticism he received from some areas of the press. Like Parry's publications, Franklins' narratives were also expensive from the beginning and were assigned exclusively to Murray. In 1823, Murray sold Franklin's *First Journey* in quarto format at a price of £4-4s. The book contained a number of lavish engravings by Finden, Walker and McQueen, and maps by Parker. As with Parry, a

significant number was also spent on advertising, some £131-10-11d. Murray printed 1,500 copies, yielding a profit of £1060-5s. In 1828, two years after the time which Cavell identifies as the height of criticism against Murray, Franklin's second journey was published, selling, once again at £4-4s, making it one of the most expensive exploration narratives he ever published. Murray's defiance against his critics provides an insight into the readerships he was targeting at this time, preferring to publish them to a small class of wealthy readers.

It is important to recognise, however, that these very expensive publications were only one part of his portfolio. As my statistical analysis of the price brackets within which Murray published between 1824-1834 shows (see Appendix One), publications over £2 did not form the majority of his publications. The price bracket which did was, on average, the 10s 1d - £1 range. Although this was cheaper than the £2 publications, if we recall that the price of one volume editions cost an average of 5s, then Murray's 'average' publication price was in excess of this by double.

What can be surmised from this data, is that Murray used the notoriety of the exploration narratives to bolster the intrigue and desirability of his House, as the high numbers spent on advertising for these publications further suggest. Parry's own hand in the promotion of his work is evident from a letter to Murray in July 1826 wherein he suggests, 'Would it not help the sale of my book to tack on to the last advertisement of it a sketch of the new plan? If you think so, I will draw one up for *The Representative* – at all events, it would make the thing popular and could do the book no harm' (MS.40921). Parry's request to advertise in the newspaper, as opposed to the *Quarterly Review*, further suggests that the advertisements were being

used to promote the books to those who would not be able to afford them, but who may nonetheless be impressed by their publication. An option for these readers was to purchase George Francis Lyon's narratives, which were priced lower.<sup>44</sup>

As with Byron, there is evidence in the Parry and Franklin letters of both explorers being inducted into the workings of the inner circle. In July 1826 Parry wrote to Murray to thank him for 'the handsome copies of the voyages and travels which you have sent me, and which are worthy of a much finer library than I shall ever be able to sport.' Further evidence of gift-giving is in a letter dated March 29<sup>th</sup> 1827 where Parry writes to thank Murray for his 'kind present of books' (MS.40921). It is evident that the drawing room also played a role in inculcating Parry into the House as another letter in August 1826 demonstrates: 'I took the liberty of taking my friend, Mr Stanley, the brother of Sir John, to see your polar and other portraits in your drawing room the other day. He is quite an enthusiast in enterprise, and was much gratified by your collection' (MS.40921). Franklin was also ingratiated in similar fashion, writing to thank Murray the 'valuable present to me and my little girl' in October 1828 (MS.42236).

As this chapter has sought to demonstrate, Murray created his literary network through a hierarchical system which rewarded those authors who could confer the most symbolic capital upon the House. The use of portraits and gifts were used to reinforce and symbolise who was a member of the coveted inner circle and

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<sup>44</sup> Apart from Lyon's first publication, *A Narrative of Travels in North Africa* (1821), which was priced at £3-3s for a quarto edition (*The British Critic*, May 1821), Lyon's next publications were cheaper. *The Private Journal of Captain Lyon* (1824) was priced at 16s, and Lyon's *Unsuccessful Attempt* (1825) was priced at 10s. (Sales Book, 1823-1825)

who was not. The importance of the inner circle to Murray is evidenced by the large volumes of correspondence between him and his ‘sporadic advisers’, and the tenacity with which he attempted to control both the public’s and his coterie’s reaction to Medwin’s *Conversations*. What emerged from this episode was the importance of Byron to the ongoing success of the House, even after his death in 1824. The authenticity and originality which Byron evoked through his ‘genius’ (the marker of quality and prestige) were also reflected by the drawing room culture at Albemarle Street, which distanced itself from the commercialism of publishers like Colburn, and later *Fraser’s*. Murray put these qualities to use in carving out a space for himself in the emerging cheap literature market, as the next chapter explores.



## Chapter Two

### ‘Cheap’ Literature

In the previous chapter I suggested that Murray used his headquarters at Albemarle Street to confer on his authors a brand identity associated with the house. I suggested that Murray’s use of the drawing-room created an exclusive club into which only particular authors were invited. The prestige of the coterie was reinforced by the opulent interior of the drawing-room, which included portraits of the most adulated authors, painted by the leading portrait painter Thomas Phillips, while the bookshelves, resplendent with books of the ‘expensive kind’ (Crabbe, *Letters*), characterised Murray as a publisher for the upper classes. The exclusivity of the coterie was maintained by Murray’s command over the use of the drawing room portraits, and the control over the circulation of his own public image, as evidenced by his reaction to the publication of Medwin’s *Conversations of Lord Byron*.

In this chapter I will explore the contrasting side of the publishing House, namely the ‘cheap’ publications which contributed significantly to Murray’s on-going financial survival. Prior to the 1820s, such publications were rare. This was consistent amongst most of the trade, as Simon Eliot has found (61). During the 1820s, however, a number of significant events occurred which made publishers, like Murray, more attentive to the developing market for cheap literature. The democratisation of stereotyping, the deaths of Keats, Shelley and Byron, the financial crash of 1826, the increase in literacy rates amongst the general population, and

political unease over the proposed passing of the Reform Bill at the end of the decade, all influenced reading, and therefore, publishing patterns.

For Murray, whose income had predominately been ensured by the affluent in society, the 1820s was a testing decade. Although the market for cheap literature, as expounded by such publishers as Constable and The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, seemed to offer access to parts of society not previously tapped by the publishing industry, this uncharted territory was fraught with speculation and risk. More significantly for Murray, the connotations which surrounded cheap literature, especially the twopenny publications, was not something that would easily coalesce with the House's upper class reputation. A more pronounced discourse at the time, however, advocated the benefits of cheap literature, such as an increase in educational standards across the lower and middle classes of Britain. This was especially so for cheap publications of non-fiction works, which could be viewed as doing a noble service to those who were previously priced out of bettering their own minds. Murray's effort at aligning himself with this discourse is evident in the advertising for the Family Library series, which has been discussed by Scott Bennett.

While Murray ventured into the market for cheap literature through the Family Library, I suggest that his main success was in transforming his highly lucrative, pre-existing, assets into publications which were within financial reach of the growing middle class, but which also retained the Murray brand that was discussed in Chapter One. As such, Murray was able to attract new readers while not alienating his loyal patrons. I suggest that this was achieved by Murray retaining control over Byron's posthumous reputation, as far as copyright allowed, which he

rebranded through a series of monthly editions of Byron's works. Murray also applied this model to the republication of Crabbe's works in monthly editions. I also suggest that the direction of the *Quarterly Review* was frequently reviewed throughout the 1820s and 1830s in response to the rise of the cheap magazines and newspapers which threatened to diminish its readership. Through three of Murray's pre-existing assets, Byron, Crabbe and the *Quarterly Review*, the House began to negotiate its way through the unknown terrain of the cheap literature market.

In addition to the big name publications, the works of lesser known authors were also published at a cheaper price, as my statistical analysis of the years 1824-42 shows. During the late-1820s, there is a noticeable rise in the number of titles which Murray published priced between 5s 1d – 7s 6d (see Appendix One). Whether these titles fit within the pricing bracket of cheap literature when compared to other publishers is debatable, but for Murray, whose average publication cost between 10s 1d - £1 up to this point, the burgeoning of this price category represents a significant effort to broaden the House's appeal. These lesser known publications seem to have played an important part in the House's financial prosperity, yet these authors were not granted access to Murray's exclusive inner circle in the same way that the most feted authors were. A noticeable example is Elizabeth Rundell whose *Domestic Cookery* generated thousands of pounds in profit for the House over its lengthy publishing history, which spanned four decades and over seventy editions. The gulf between the image of the House as represented by 50 Albemarle Street on the one hand, and the underside of the business as represented by the increase in cheap

literature on the other, amounted to a cultural as well as a financial polarisation for Murray.

### **The Growth of Cheap Literature**

The first revolution in the availability of cheap literature has widely been located in the year of the *Donaldson v Beckett* (1774) decision. The case concerned the question of whether the Scottish bookseller Alexander Donaldson had breached copyright law by reprinting James Thompson's *The Seasons*, the rights for which were claimed by a group of London booksellers. The case went to the very roots of copyright law in an effort to determine whether literary property was a statutory right, and thereby limited by the state, or a common law right, and thereby perennial. The House of Lords found it to be statutory, ruling in Donaldson's favour. This meant that once the term of copyright was over other publishers were free to reprint the work. The broader implications of this decision meant that the perpetual copyrights, which were available to members of Stationers' Company, were no longer authorised. This had the resulting effect of disbanding the copyright monopoly which the London-based publishers had enjoyed. As a consequence, the market became more competitive as the prices and practices of the London publishers were challenged by an increasing number of provincial publishers who sold books at a lower cost.<sup>45</sup> The correlation between this case and the rise of cheap

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<sup>45</sup> A further implication of the *Donaldson v Beckett* decision was that, if a book was significantly revised, it could be re-published as a new title, thereby evading its original copyright restrictions.

literature in the late-eighteenth century has been widely agreed by a number of book historians.<sup>46</sup>

Whether the *Donaldson v Beckett* decision did have such a profound impact on the production of cheap literature, however, has been questioned by J. E. Elliott who argues that there is no tangible proof that the number of cheap publications did increase after the case. The critical consensus on this matter is, for the time being, undecided, and beyond the scope of this thesis. What is apparent is that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the market was dominated by publications which were only affordable to the very wealthy. Richard D. Altick describes the prices of books at the beginning of the nineteenth century as ‘more expensive than ever before’ (260). An octavo cost 12-14s, a quarto could cost up to two guineas, and the 12mo doubled in price from 3s to 6s. Interestingly, Altick cites Charles Knight, the founder of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, who suggested that prices were so high because the London booksellers were in collusion with one another. If this was the case, the *Donaldson v Beckett* decision, although clarifying the law on copyright, did little to ensure that the competition it was intended to produce was implemented in practice.

A key reason for the high price of books at this time was the cost of printing. During the early nineteenth century typesetting was the common method of printing. Typesetting was the composition of texts by moveable types, which were composed

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<sup>46</sup> James Raven, John Feather, Mark Rose, Richard Altick and William St Clair have all identified a proliferation of cheap literature at the end of the eighteenth century. Cited by Elliott, J.E. ‘The Cost of Reading in Eighteenth Century Britain: Auction Sale Catalogues and the Cheap Literature Hypothesis.’ 2010.

by hand for each page. As texts were manually produced, the only means by which production could be speeded up was for more compositors to be employed, which invariably raised the cost of publication. Typesetting was, therefore, often a slow process, and also an expensive one, with printing-house compositors charging 33s a week in 1801, increasing to 36s in 1811 (Altick 262). A further substantial cost was incurred from the tax on paper, which was 3d per pound (lb), until it was abolished in 1861 (Sousa 217). The taxation rules meant that paper could not be sold in quantities of less than half a ream, which was roughly 250 sheets (St Clair 178 ). The implications of the tax laws meant that publishers often encouraged their authors to write books that were in multiples of 250 sheets (St Clair 179), or, in the case of shorter books, to strictly adhere to the agreed length of paper. During the Napoleonic Wars, the price of paper doubled (Plant 325-27) making printing even more expensive.

Typesetting was gradually superseded by stereotyping. Stereotyping involved casting typeset matter in the form of metal plates, which were put to press instead of the type itself, as in typesetting. The advantages of stereotyping were that it prevented the wear of type, the quality of each page of print was more consistent and, most attractively, the proofs could be more easily stored. This enabled publishers to approach the decision of print runs with more flexibility, and allowed them to respond to demand for reprints with more alacrity. Although the technology was available from 1802, stereotyping was not generally used until the 1820s.<sup>47</sup> One

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<sup>47</sup> Philip Gaskell in *A New Introduction to Bibliography* provides a detailed account of the development of stereotyping (201-205).

reason given in the *Monthly Magazine* was that ‘it does not appear that more than twenty or thirty works would warrant the expense of being cast in solid pages; consequently the cost of the preliminary arrangements would greatly exceed the advantages to be attained’ (Plant 301). Initially, only books with guaranteed longevity, such as Bibles and schoolbooks, were seen to be worth the publisher’s expense of investing in the composition of stereotype plates (Altick 262).

The use of stereotyping increased gradually and by 1820 twelve printing firms in London offered stereotyping services (Erickson 11). The value of William Clowes’ stereotype stock, a sum of £200,000, provides some quantitative proof that stereotyping was indeed being regularly used by publishers in the 1820s (Plant 303). Prior to stereotyping, publishers did not have the flexibility to print the same title in a variety of formats so as to appeal to a range of readerships. As a result of stereotyping, there was typically a strong correlation between the form of the book (quarto, octavo, duodecimo) and its price (St Clair 423), so that the first edition was often published in the most expensive format, with the price decreasing thereafter as the work was published in cheaper formats. St Clair calls this practice ‘tranching down’ (198), as publishers moved down the pricing brackets with each reprint of a title, beginning with the most expensive format and ending with the cheapest. Perhaps the most significant contribution stereotyping made to the rise of cheap literature, therefore, was the ‘economy of scale’ (Erickson 19) that it allowed. According to Erickson ‘the technological changes propelled the expansion of the publishing industry and forced a reordering of the relationships among literary forms’ (10). For Erickson, the reordering of literary forms means the introduction of

new forms, as opposed to reprinting in different forms. The primary literary forms which arose from the advent of stereotyping, Erickson suggests, were the annual, the periodical and the newspaper, the large print runs of which suited the economics of stereotype printing.

Erickson draws a correlation between the rise of these new forms and the decline of poetry by suggesting that the annuals, in particular, ‘siphone[ed] off whatever growth there was in the poetry market’ (26). Integral to the annuals’ appeal, Erickson suggests, was the incorporation of pictures which, in turn, meant that the poetry which accompanied them had to ‘conform to a purely pictorial aesthetic’ (40). As a result the annuals ‘divided the market for poetry into a large one for light lyrics and a small one for self-consciously serious art’ (47). Erickson also gives the figures for the number of original and reprinted works of poetry which were published during 1820-25. In 1820, more than 320 volumes of poetry were published, of which over 200 were original publications (28). Throughout the remainder of the 1820s the number of poetry publications continued to decrease. In 1825 around 200 volumes of poetry were published, of which 110 were original publications. By 1832 only 100 volumes of poetry were published, of which 77 were originals (29). Although the poetry market decreased overall, the percentage of new titles being published in relation to the number of reprints remained fairly consistent, and actually increased in 1832. This suggests that, although the market for poetry declined during the 1820s there was still some demand for original works.

The publishing figures for poetry by Murray follow a similar pattern. In 1820, 12 editions were published, of which 5 were original. By 1824, both figures had



declined with only 1 original and 3 reprints being published. Throughout the early-1820s, there was also a limited market for Murray's editions of Byron's works, as other publishers were beginning to satisfy the rising demand for cheap editions. As Caroline Franklin notes: 'Byron had already lost his quarto-buying upper-class readership, but, by the 1820s, lower-class reformers were championing the noble poet, and cheap editions of his poetry sold well to the public at large' (Franklin 62). The lower-class reformers who Franklin refers to are the piratical publishers who specialised in the re-printing of satirical and radical materials commonly associated with the anti-establishment movement of the early-1820s. As a response to the sort of social unrest which culminated with the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, The Six Acts prevented meetings of fifty persons or more without judicial consent; increased the fines for the publication of slanderous or blasphemous publications; and imposed a tax of 4d on any publication appearing at least once a month with a sale price of 6d (Evans 24), amongst other prohibitions. The implications this had in the publishing industry was that an 'underground' trade emerged with publishers such as William Hone, Richard Carlile, William Sherwin, William Dugdale and William Benbow, selling cheap re-prints of works deemed to be anti-establishment alongside their radical pamphlets (Colligan 434).

After its publication in 1819, Byron's *Don Juan* attracted the attention of such publishers. The first pirated copy of *Don Juan* was published by J. Onwhyn for 4s (Luke 201). By contrast, Murray's first edition of cantos i-ii of *Don Juan* was published in an extravagant quarto format which sold for £1 11s 6d (MS.42725). Although Murray was keen to appeal to an upper-class readership, as usual, the

quarto edition was, even by his standards, excessive. The last Byron quarto he published was *Childe Harold* seven years earlier. According to Luke, the form of *Don Juan* was not merely aesthetic (200). Its main purpose was to protect Murray from violating the laws which prohibited the publication of unorthodox material. By appealing to an upper-class readership, Murray hoped that *Don Juan*'s slanderous content would be viewed as nothing more than a piece of satirical amusement for otherwise respectable members of society. Unfortunately, by issuing *Don Juan* in such an unusual form, and anonymously, it attracted more attention than had Murray published it in the more commonplace octavo format. A backlash of criticism ensued which only served to foreground the poem's most blasphemous stanzas, and the demand from the 'underground' increased. As a result, the publication became heavily associated with the anti-establishment movement, deterring those upper-class readers, who would have been able to afford the Murray quarto, from purchasing it.

As a quarto, *Don Juan* was expensive to print. Murray also paid Byron £2,100 for cantos i-ii of *Don Juan* (MS.42725). The total spent on copyright and production was £2652-2s-6d for a print run of 1,500 volumes. According to the ledger, by August 1819, 1339 copies had been sold, making an overall loss at that stage of £1141-14s-6d (MS.42725). By the time that Murray published cantos iii-v, he issued the poem as an octavo volume, selling at 9s 6d, which was more successful (MS.42812). By 1823, entries in the sales book show that both were being offered for sale on the Albion Sales account, as opposed to the Coffee House account or half-yearly account. The Albion Sales account suggests that the demand for Murray's edition had waned resulting in him trying to sell the remainders in bulk at a

discounted price. Both octavo editions were offered 25 as 24 at 5s 6d, and both foolscap octavos were offered 25 as 24 for 3s 6d (MS.42812).<sup>48</sup>

Although the increasing use of stereotyping may have contributed to the rise of some of the cheap editions which undercut Murray's Byron quartos, another key factor which emerges from this episode is the relationship between copyright and pricing. One of the reasons why there were so many pirated editions of *Don Juan* was that Murray's claim over the intellectual property right was uncertain from the publication of his first edition. As mentioned above, Murray chose not to include his name on the title page as a way to distance himself from a possible libel action arising from the poem's content. However, this also signified to the pirate publishers that if Murray was not willing to announce his ownership of the work on the title page, it would be unlikely that he would prosecute the piratical publishers in court.

St Clair has identified the relationship between copyright and price (42). The ownership of copyright enabled the publisher to charge whatever price they chose, as they knew that the work would not be available elsewhere for the customer to purchase. St Clair suggests that this 'conferred a monopoly' (30) over the work, with the result that the buyer had no choice but to pay the price if they were to obtain the book that they wanted. In 1830 Murray purchased the copyrights of Byron's works which he did not previously own for the sum of £3885 (MS.42727, Folio 26). This included the 'Hours of Idleness', eleven cantos of *Don Juan*, and the 'Age of

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<sup>48</sup> '25 as 24' was one of the sales methods Murray used when selling books wholesale. Effectively, for every 24 copies of a publication purchased, the 25<sup>th</sup> copy was given away by Murray free of charge.

Bronze' (Smiles 306).<sup>49</sup> To secure the copyrights, Murray suggested to Hobhouse, one of Byron's executors, that the property be valued by three respectable publishers, with the intention that he would pay whatever the suggested price may be. Murray's desire to obtain the copyrights stemmed from his ambition to publish the first complete edition of Byron's works, which were only available as pirated copies from France (Smiles 305). Rather than take advantage of his monopoly over the Byron copyrights by pricing them highly, however, Murray chose to publish them in a series of, comparatively cheap, volumes.

Murray's decision to reprint Byron's works in cheap volumes was part of a wider movement within the trade to issue works at lower prices. Since the early-1820s a number of publishers had printed titles for as little as 2d. As Altick notes, the 2d titles were predominately pamphlets written by politicians who targeted the working-class demographic. John Wade's *Black Book*, for example, which was a source of information on the financial wealth of the aristocracy and public finance, sold for 2d a sheet, or 6d in fortnightly parts, with print runs being around 10,000 copies (266). For the fiction market, Whittingham and John Limbird published two series of out-of-copyright fiction. Whittingham's Pocket Novelists consisted of over thirty works at between 2s and 5s 6d. Limbird, a competitor of Whittingham's, published fiction at an even lower cost, starting from 6d. Both publishers also issued series of poetry. Whittingham's Cabinet Library was a series of small volumes

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<sup>49</sup> Ledger C says that canto ii of *Don Juan* was not included in the sale. This seems to be a superfluous statement as, according to Ledger B (252), Murray paid Byron £2100 for cantos i and ii in 1819. Further confusion over the copyright for cantos i and ii is found in a letter from Murray to Byron that states £1,575 was paid (Nicholson 278).

selling between 2s to 4s 6d each, while Limbird offered ‘complete’ works of such poets as Goldsmith and Franklin for as little as 8d (Altick 267). As Altick notes, however, these series had a small circulation, which was significantly reduced by the country booksellers who refused to stock them for fear of upsetting their more established suppliers.

The first attempt at issuing cheap works by a well-established publisher came a few years later in 1824. As Erickson notes, Archibald Constable was the ‘first to envision selling cheap fiction to everyone and becoming wealthy in the process’ (147). The genesis of Constable’s vision was recorded by Lockhart in his *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*:

Constable was meditating nothing less than a total revolution in the art and traffic of bookselling [...]. He startled us at the outset by saying, ‘Literary genius may, or may not, have done its best; but printing and bookselling, as instruments for enlightening and entertaining mankind and, of course, for making money, are as yet in mere infancy. Yes, the trade are in their cradle.’ (257, Vol IV)

Constable’s Miscellany differed from previous series, such as Whittingham’s and Limbird’s, in that it offered new, or nearly-new, titles of non-fiction works. The overarching idea of the Miscellany was also more ambitious, with Constable delineating that:

I have now settled my outline of operations – a three-shilling or half-crown volume every month, which must and shall sell, not by thousands or fives of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands – ay, by millions! Twelve volumes in the year, a halfpenny of profit upon every copy of which will make me richer than the possession of all the copyrights of all the quartos that ever were, or will be, hot-pressed! – twelve volumes, so good that millions must wish to have them, and so cheap that every butcher’s callant may have them (259 Vol IV).

Constable was correct in his estimation of the price and frequency of publication. A new volume was printed approximately every three weeks, and was priced at 3s 6d (Altick 269). Constable miscalculated the demand for such works, however. The millions whom he envisioned buying his publications did not materialise. The *Miscellany* was still popular, however, and ran into seventy-six volumes, showing that there was clearly a market for works of that type and price. Whether the readers buying the *Miscellany* were of the demographic which Constable originally imagined seems unlikely. As Altick says, ‘both the intellectual tone and the price were too high for most of the intended audience’ (269).

A lower-priced series was launched in 1826 by Charles Knight and Henry Brougham under the auspices of the newly-found Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Issued at 6d, a significant decrease when compared to Constable’s *Miscellany*, the SDUK series aimed to provide enlightening literature to the uneducated lower classes. Murray was approached by Knight in December 1826, who sought the publisher’s involvement with the series. After a series of correspondence between Murray and Knight, Murray decided to decline the offer, in part because he could not imagine where Knight would ‘find the men to write these books’ (MS.40658). To a certain extent, Murray was right. Although the books for the series were written, they were not as popular as expected, owing to their rather dry and laconic content on subjects such as calculus and mechanics (Altick 269).

In 1829 Murray launched his own series of ‘cheap’ works, titled The Family Library. Similar to the SDUK series, it attempted to promote itself as providing educative materials for those not previously able to access them. As Scott Bennett

summarises: ‘The Family Library and a handful of other publications like it embody a remarkable effort to publish across class lines at a time when class divisions were newly felt to be threatening the fabric of national life’ (141). With the title being priced at 5s, however, which was even more expensive than Constable’s *Miscellany*, The Family Library was beyond the reach of those on anything less than a middle-class income. In spite of the series probably not being bought by its intended demographic, The Family Library was a success at first. In 1830 Murray wrote to Lockhart to say that ‘the Family Library continues to prosper as you will I hope be satisfied of when you have the accounts’ (Bennett 143). By August 1830, however, it became apparent to Murray just how high the sales of each title needed to be if he were to profit from the series. A run of 10,000 copies of Lockhart’s *The History of Napoleon*, one of the series’ most popular works, still ‘l[eft] nothing’ (144).

Two contributing factors which were eroding profits were the standard to which Murray was printing the titles, and copyright expenses. From the Library’s inception, Murray envisioned issuing books of high quality at a low price. In reality, this proved difficult to realise, as quality invariably required greater expenditure during the printing process. Murray’s desire to also issue new works also required him to pay out relatively high sums for copyright. His average copyright payment was £212s-6d which was 23% higher than the copyright payments for the SDUK series (161).<sup>50</sup> Bennett calculates that the total Murray spent on copyrights for the

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<sup>50</sup> A letter from Charles Knight to Murray in March 1829 indicates the position which the Family Library series occupied in relation to its competitors: ‘I have to thank you for your very beautiful volume of the Family Library. The book it got up in the best taste. Printing on the cloth is a most happy invention. I send you the first part of my ‘Entertaining Knowledge.’ The book cannot compete with yours in beauty – but it has more matter for the price – and this is important to the class we

entire series was £10,000 (144). Although Murray realised the attraction to the public of printing new works which were not available elsewhere, trying to balance copyright payments for original works plus the outgoing expenses for printing them was difficult. It seemed that the correlation between copyright and pricing which St Clair identifies in *The Reading Nation* was only of benefit if the publisher was intending to confer the ‘monopoly’ price over the title, or, if he was able to sell the title in sufficiently high numbers to counteract its low price. In spite of the high print runs for some of the titles, such as *The History of the Jews* and *The Court and Camp of Bounaparte*, which both had runs of over 20,000, these titles simply did not sell as many copies as expected. *The History of the Jews* sold 12,659 copies (Bennett 163), and *The Court and Camp of Bounaparte* sold 13,481 (Bennett 163).

One of the most successful ‘cheap’ series of the 1820s and 1830s was Robert Cadell’s *magnum opus* edition of Scott’s Waverley Novels (1829-1833), poetry (1833-4) and prose (1834-36). After the firm of Constable and Co. collapsed during the crash of 1826, Cadell purchased Constable’s copyrights of the Waverley Novels for £8,500. Acquiring the copyright for the poetry proved to be more difficult. At the time, Longman and Co. owned a number of Scott’s poetry copyrights. They had also recently purchased 3,500 copies of Scott’s *Poetical Works* 18mo from Hurst Robinson (Millgate 338). As such, Longmans were naturally concerned about Cadell’s ambition to reprint Scott’s works in an edition that would be competing with

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particularly address [...]. We each launch our series on the same day – and most earnestly hope that both may succeed – for good must come of that success. We have plenty of sea-room, and need not run foul of each other. My view is that in a very few years scarcely any other description of books will be published, and in that case we that are first in the field may hope to win the race.’ (MS.40658)



their own. After a series of negotiations, during which Longmans obstinately refused to relinquish their copyrights, Cadell finally persuaded Longmans to sell them for a sum of £7,000 in May 1829 (Millgate 340). That Cadell was willing to pay such a price for the copyrights suggests that he foresaw the importance of having the complete copyrights for all of Scott's works if his series was to succeed. On the one hand this coalesces with St Clair's argument about the publisher's ability to confer a monopoly price over a work for which they owned all of the copyright. In this case, as we shall also see in Murray's, both publishers were more interested in conferring a monopoly over a work, rather than a monopoly price. Although, price was a fundamental consideration, the fact that both publishers were contemplating selling their prized authors at a 'cheap' price suggests a shifting relationship between copyright and price as the trade moved through the 1820s and 1830s.

It may be suggested that both Cadell's editions of Scott, and Murray's editions of Byron, were merely examples of both publishers 'tranching down' (St Clair 32) the price brackets after the publication of the more expensive, monopolised, first editions of Scott's and Byron's works. However, both 'cheap' editions were sufficiently different from the first editions, and in this respect can be classified as constituting new works. Jane Millgate's investigation into Cadell's publication of the *magnum opus* reveals that Scott spent much time and effort in ensuring that the Cadell editions would include different material from the original editions. Scott's efforts were borne out of the predicament over what to do with the stock which Cadell had purchased from Longmans as part of the copyright deal. The Longmans editions needed to be sold so that Cadell could recoup some of his money, but by

doing so he would be knowingly selling works to the public which he knew would very soon be superseded by the *magnum opus* edition. As Millgate notes, this rested uneasily with both Cadell and Scott, who were keen to avoid having their reputations aligned with that of Thomas Tegg (342). Cadell, therefore, proposed that Scott should write introductions for the Longmans' poetry editions, which could then be used as part of the completely new *magnum opus* poetry editions (342).

The incorporation of new material into the cheap editions was something which Murray had already done for the Byron editions. Rather than just reprint the works as they originally were, but in a cheaper format, many extracts from Byron's manuscripts, letters, journals and reviews had been worked into the new editions, which offered readers new material and distinguished the reprints from the earlier editions. Millgate notes that this strategy was employed by Cadell for the poetry publications in the *magnum opus*, after Scott's death in 1832 (350). Overseeing the editing of the poetry *magnum opus* editions was Lockhart, who had been appointed by Scott in his will to 'carry on and conclude the publication of my poetical works' (351). As an esteemed literary adviser to Murray, it is not surprising that the reprints of Scott and Byron were similar in design.<sup>51</sup>

A further example of the overlap between the two series was the format that both series followed. As Millgate notes, 'the Byron edition was deliberately and

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<sup>51</sup> A letter dated 31<sup>st</sup> December 1831 in the JMA gives some insight into Lockhart's role during the publication of the monthly editions of Byron's works: 'I have written all the editorial notes of any length in the seven volumes now published – and corrected every one of the smaller; and, in short, unless you had got Croker or Milman to do the same sort of thing, the edition would have no sort of chance – none. On the contrary, the seventh volume of the collection must have killed the whole.' (MS.42449)

openly modelled on Cadell's own *magnum opus* edition of Scott's novels, following the pattern of that edition in matters of pricing, monthly issue, steel engravings, cloth binding, and annotation' (350). Millgate also notes that Murray paid to advertise his Byron series within the pages of Scott's *magnum opus* series. As Murray did not launch his series until 1831, two years after Cadell's, he had the advantage of seeing how the *magnum opus* series fared before committing to his own. Murray's advertisement for the Byron series did not hide the fact that it was based upon Cadell's series: 'This edition will be executed in the highest style of printing and embellishment; and will correspond in size with the monthly edition of the *Waverley Novels*'.

Another aspect of the series which Murray was keen to stress in the advertisement was his exclusive ownership of the Byron copyrights. In a rather unusual move, he includes the detail of how much he paid to obtain them:

In commencing this important undertaking, Mr Murray thinks it but due to himself to state, that the copyright alone of the matter which will be contained in the fourteen volumes, has been purchased by him at a cost of more than Twenty-Five Thousand Pounds. He is nevertheless induced, on the fair presumption that the circulation will be commensurate with the enormous outlay, to issue to the world this beautiful edition of the Life and Works of Byron, at the above extremely low price.

The way in which the cost of the copyrights is communicated is slightly misleading. While Byron's copyrights did cost Murray in the region of twenty-five thousand pounds, roughly twenty-one thousand pounds of that amount was the sum total Murray spent on copyright payments to Byron throughout his life, as is documented in the table below. The remaining amount of £3,885 (MS.42725) was, indeed, spent by Murray to ensure that he would be able to publish the complete works of Byron

without worrying about the ‘spurious and worthless reprints of portions of them’ that would otherwise ensue. It seems that Murray was attempting to portray the series as enacting a public service for ‘all classes of readers’ who were previously priced out of buying Byron’s works, the irony being of course that Murray had played a significant part in this. The ‘extremely low price’ of five shillings would still have precluded a significant portion of literate society from being able to obtain the monthly parts. As with the majority of Murray’s publications the emphasis was on the presentation of the book, which the publisher was clearly still reluctant to economise on: ‘this edition will be executed in the highest style of printing and embellishment [...] each volume will contain a frontispiece and vignette title page, engraved on steel by eminent artists, from entirely new designs.’

### **The Monthly Reprints of Byron**

Prior to the cheap reprints, Byron’s works were some of the House’s most expensive, in terms of both publishing costs and the sale price which they commanded. A large portion of Murray’s outgoings were payments to Byron for the copyright of his work. It sometimes appeared as though Murray’s primary motivation in securing Byron’s copyrights was borne out of Murray’s admiration for the work itself, rather than any business consideration, as the following letter suggests:

These poems [The Siege of Corinth and Parisina] are not by any means equally finished as the ‘Corsair’, but the ‘Siege of Corinth’ contains two or three of the finest scenes he ever conceived, and the other, called ‘Parisina’, is the most interesting and best conceived and best told story I ever read. I was never more effected by it. (Oliphant 49, Vol I)

The price which Murray was willing to pay for the copyright to ‘The Siege of Corinth’ and ‘Parisina’ was £1,050, which Byron himself found unable to accept: ‘your offer is liberal in the extreme ... and much more than the two poems can possibly be worth – but I cannot accept it – nor will not’ (Nicholson, 152). Murray must have persuaded Byron to accept the copyright payment eventually, however, as there is a record of £1,050 entered into Ledger B (15) in March 1816. Towards the end of March, Murray also made Byron sign an indenture, which assigned to Murray the copyrights of all of Byron’s works published by him, for the sum of £3,925 (Nicholson 159). Although Murray’s calculations for copyright sometimes seemed to be a measure of his enjoyment of the work, the formality of making Byron sign the indenture suggests that Murray could also approach the subject of copyright from a businessman’s perspective.

Murray’s confidence in the sales which Byron’s works could command is clear. The copyright payments which I have been able to find for Byron’s works are as follows:

| <b>Title</b>        | <b>Date of Copyright Agreement</b> | <b>Payment</b>  |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| The Giaour          | May 1814                           | £1,000 (including copyright for The Bride of Abydos) (MS.42725) |
| The Bride of Abydos | May 1814                           | £1,000 (including copyright for The Giaour) (Nicholson 96)      |
| Lara, A Tale        | July/August 1814                   | £1,050 (MS.42725)   |

|                             |                |   |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---|
| Hebrew Melodies             | June 1815      | Copyright not given (MS.42725)  |
| The Siege of Corinth        | March 1816     | £1050 (with copyright for Parisina) (MS. 42725)                                       |
| Parisina                    | March 1816     | £1050 (with copyright for The Siege of Corinth)                                       |
| The Dream                   | September 1816 | £2,100 (published with The Prisoner of Chillon) (Nicholson 177)                       |
| Manfred                     | May 1817       | 600 guineas (including copyright for Lament) (MS.42725 says £315)                     |
| The Lament of Tasso         | May 1817       | 600 guineas (including copyright for Manfred) (Nicholson 232), (MS.42725 says £315)   |
| Beppo                       | August 1817    | £2,500 (including Canto IV of Childe Harold) (Nicholson 240)                          |
| Childe Harold – Cantos I&II | 1812           | £600 (Moore 139)  |
| Childe Harold – Canto III   | Dec 1816       | £1,050 (MS.42725)   |
| Childe Harold – Canto IV    | August 1817    | £2,500 (including copyright for Beppo)  |
| Don Juan – Cantos I&II      | July 1819      | £1,575 (Nicholson 278)  |
| Canto III                   | November 1821  | £2,500 for Cantos III-V, plus Sardanapalus, The Two Foscari, and Cain (Nicholson 427) |
| Canto IV                    | November 1821  | See above   |

|                       |               |   |
|-----------------------|---------------|---|
| Canto V               | November 1821 | See above   |
| Mazeppa               | March 1819    | £525 (Nicholson 278)  |
| The Prophecy of Dante | March 1821    | 1,000 guineas (Nicholson 386)   |
| Marino Faliero        | May 1821      | £1, 050 (MS. 42725)   |
| Sardanapalus          | November 1821 | See above   |
| The Two Foscari       | November 1821 | See above   |
| Cain                  | November 1821 | See above   |
| Werner                | March 1822    | 2/3 <sup>rd</sup> profit to Byron<br>1/3 <sup>rd</sup> profit to Murray (MS. 42725) |

Murray's attitude towards exactly how high Byron's copyright payments should be varied with the temperamental nature of their relationship. In September 1816, for example, at a date still relatively close to when Murray became Byron's publisher in 1814, we can see Murray offering Byron payments that exceeded the bard's expectations. In the following letter, where Murray discusses copyright payment for 'The Dream', he writes to Byron:

I have preferred to settle it at once at the £2,100 – and now the Lord (not you) have mercy upon me – It appears to me that you have completely distanced every Modern Poet and when I read you I wander in the regions of Spencer, Milton, or Shakespeare – it really [is] a triumph over the whole world which I do from my heart glory in, and congratulate you upon. Remember I do stipulate for All MSS Original, Copies, or Scraps (Nicholson 177).

Murray's effusive flattery towards Byron's literary accomplishments is, however, again balanced by his intention to hold Byron to the terms of the contract. As the author-publisher relationship progressed, both parties increasingly became more

stubborn about what price they were willing to agree on. In August 1821, Murray offered Byron 1,000 guineas for the copyrights to ‘The Two Foscari’, ‘Sardanapalus’, and Cantos III-V of *Don Juan*. Byron was clearly offended by such a, comparatively, low offer, as he wrote to Kinnaird: ‘I have received the enclosed proposal from Murray which I cannot accept. He offers me for all – the sum he once offered me for two cantos of *Don Juan*. I will accept nothing of the kind – unless he advances very considerably, or, unless the things have completely failed (412).’ Murray later made another offer, which was £2,500 for cantos III-V of *Don Juan*, ‘Sardanapalus’, ‘The Two Foscari’, and ‘Cain’, as stated above.

One of Murray’s primary reasons when seeming to negotiate aggressively, with what would prove to be the last cantos he would publish of *Don Juan*, was his fear that the pirates would undercut his profits by issuing cheap reprints of the poem. This was one of Murray’s main considerations when deciding upon a price to offer Byron: ‘Respecting the purchase of these cantos, considering the precarious tenure of the copyright, I think I may venture, upon the strength of all our transactions, to ask you to allow me to publish it first and try what it will produce before I enter into any specific bargain’ (Nicholson 379). Murray’s reasoning did not please Byron who wrote to Kinnaird. Kinnaird replied to Byron, saying that:

You are quite right in what you say about Mr Murray’s complaint about pirating the Juan – All this would have been avoided had the M.S.S been sent to Hobhouse or myself, and either of us had given him a copy to read and buy or not as he pleased – After he had made the purchase he was perhaps entitled to hurt the sale by his folly – but he is not entitled to injure the work, and afterwards plead that injury, of his own doing, in diminution of the price he is to offer (Nicholson 430).



Regardless of Kinnaid's reservations, the publication of cantos III-V went ahead under Murray's auspices. They were deliberately printed in octavo, as a way to circumvent the pirates publishing their own editions as a way to compete with a quarto release, as had been the case for the earlier cantos. As mentioned above, this tactic made the publication of cantos III-V more successful than cantos I-II.

Although the copyright payments for Byron's work were seemingly high, the sales regularly generated large profits for Murray. The following table gives the title, print run, and profit of some of the Byron publications:

| <b>Title</b>                            | <b>Print Run</b>   | <b>Profit Before Expenses</b> | <b>Overall Profit</b>                            |
|---|--|-------------------------------|--|
| The Giaour                              |  |                               | £1256-5s-6d<br>(MS.42724)                        |
| Lara, A Tale                            | 6,500 – 5,000 (1-4 <sup>th</sup> eds.), 1,500 – 5 <sup>th</sup> ed             | £1,252                        | £472-4s<br>(MS.42725)                            |
| Hebrew Melodies                         | 6,000 (1 <sup>st</sup> ed)   | £1,152                        | £836-5s<br>(MS.42725)                            |
| The Siege of Corinth<br>– First Edition | 6,000  | £1,132                        |  |
| Second Edition                          | 1,500  | £288                          |  |
| Third Edition                           | 1,500  | £288                          | £168-16s (for all three editions)<br>(MS. 42725) |
| Manfred                                 | 6,000 copies of 1 <sup>st</sup> ed.<br><br>1,000 copies of 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. | £1,344                        | £753-17s (MS. 42725)                             |

|                             |  |               |  |
|-----------------------------|--|---------------|--|
| The Lament of Tasso         | 5,000 copies (1 <sup>st</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> eds)        | £240          | £171   |
| Beppo (Editions I-VIII)     | 8,250 (1-8 <sup>th</sup> eds)                              | £847-10s      | £539-19s (MS.42725)  |
| Childe Harold – Cantos I&II | 3,500  | £1,651        | £1,010   |
| Childe Harold – Canto III   | 6,000 of 1 <sup>st</sup> ed<br>6,000 of 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed | £2,304        | £455 (MS.42725)  |
| Childe Harold – Canto IV    | 10,000 copies of 1 <sup>st</sup> ed                        | £3969.15.6    | £179-12-1s (MS. 42725)   |
| Don Juan – Cantos I&II      | 4to - 1,500<br>8vo – 3,750                                 | £1506<br>£990 | -£1141-14-6s<br>£562.4 (MS.42725)  |
| Mazeppa                     | 8,000  | £1420-16s     | £963-7-8s (MS. 42725)  |
| Marino Faliero              | 7,500  | £2474-15s-9d  | £578-7s-3d (MS. 42725)   |
| Werner                      | 5,000  | £940          | £547-2s-10d (Murray's share was 1/3 <sup>rd</sup> - £182-7s-7d) (MS.42725) |

When it came to the production of the monthly editions of Byron's works in 1831, Murray took a similar approach, investing a significant sum in the initial outlay, with the calculated risk that he would see a good return on his money. The following table shows the amount Murray spent on printing, which includes materials, drawings, engravings, binding, and repairs, for each volume of the series.

| Volume Number | Publication Expenses   |
|---------------|------------------------|
| I             | £1,758-13-4d           |
| II            | £1569-18-8d            |
| III           | £1687-13-2d            |
| IV            | £1686-12-8d            |
| V             | £1750-1-8d             |
| VI            | £1987-16-9d            |
| VII           | £1577-18-2d            |
| VIII          | £1600                  |
| IX            | £1614-9-2d             |
| X             | £1471-6-6d             |
| XI            | £1509                  |
| XII           | £1,484-16-6d           |
| XIII          | £1608-16-6d            |
| XIV           | £1581-7-3d             |
| XV            | £1532-12-3d            |
| XVI           | £1532-12-3d            |
| XVII          | £1526-2s <sup>52</sup> |

As Murray expected, the monthly series of Byron's works was a financial success.

Sales of the works amounted to £43,546-17-6d. After deducting the outlay, which was £28,747-12-6d, the overall profit was £14,799-5s (MS.42725).

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<sup>52</sup> All figures can be found in JMA Ledger C, MS.42725.

After the success of the monthly editions of Byron, Murray decided to launch a similar series of Crabbe's works. Unlike Byron, Crabbe had not been a financial success for Murray up to this point. After Crabbe died in 1832, Murray wrote to his son with the idea of publishing his father's works in cheaper editions. At the beginning of the letter Murray reminds Crabbe of the incremental sales of his father's works: 'From the years 1826-1829, I did not sell twenty copies a year until 1829. I found it necessary to sell to Mr Tegg of Cheapside for not so much as a third of what they had cost me – 722 copies of the beautiful edition in 5v 8vo, 823 of the edition in 8 volumes 8vo, and 266 Tales of the Hall in 3 vol 8vo' (MS.41910). Murray then goes on to explain the predicament he has found himself in when trying to sell Crabbe's works, and the possible solution of reprinting them in a similar format to Byron's monthly editions:

At an annual sale which I give to the booksellers, I have repeatedly sold ten thousand copies of Byron's works at the regular trade, when I could not sell one copy of Crabbe's works, though offered very confidently under the same price, which makes me think after their gloomy statement, is that a great taste for purchasing favourite authors has been created by bringing them out splendidly embellished and exceedingly cheap in monthly volumes.  
(MS.41910)

Once again, Murray seems to offer what appears to be an economic contradiction – 'splendidly embellished' works to be sold cheaply – as a viable solution to his past financial losses with Crabbe. While this risk paid off in the case of Byron's monthly editions, Murray was not so lucky with the Crabbe series. Although Murray did not invest as much in Crabbe's series as he had in Byron's, the amount was still significant, as the following table demonstrates.

| Volume Number | Publication Expenses | Profit on First Edition      |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| I             | £1338-17-9d          | Minus £302-17-9d             |
| II            | £664                 | £87.9s                       |
| III           | £610-6-4d            | £142-10-4d                   |
| IV            | £624-9s              | £127-17-8d                   |
| V             | £599-7-4d            | £152-19-4d                   |
| VI            | £594-9-4d            | £158-4s                      |
| VII           | £595.8s              | £157.5.4d                    |
| VIII          | £948-14-4d           | Minus £31.1.8d <sup>53</sup> |

As can be seen, Crabbe's works were nowhere near as profitable as Byron's had been, in spite of being published in the same format. Thus, although Byron's and Crabbe's works were re-printed in comparable formats, the success of the former did not ensure the success of the later. Clearly, other factors, such as Byron's already established popularity, contributed to the sales of the monthly editions. Nonetheless, Crabbe's monthly editions enabled Murray to recoup some of the money he had originally spent on purchasing the original copyrights, affirming the flexibility which was conferred on a publisher who had managed to obtain all of an author's rights.

### **The Periodical Market**

The *Quarterly Review* was another of Murray's most prized assets. When the *Quarterly* first came to press, it was sold within a field of very few competitors. For

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<sup>53</sup> All figures can be found in JMA Ledger Book C, MS.42725.

a long time, the *Quarterly*'s only significant rival was the *Edinburgh Review*.

Founded in 1802 by a triumvirate of university students, Sydney Smith, Francis Jeffrey, and Francis Horner (Cutmore 5), the *Edinburgh Review* was based upon the principles of Whiggism, which are described by Cutmore as 'egalitarian, materialist, and anti-dogmatic' (5). Although these principles were philosophical in nature, the *Edinburgh Review* frequently reflected the political concerns of the Whig party.

Jeffrey's review of Cobbett's *Political Register* (July 1807), a review of Whitbread's *Letter on Spain* (July 1808) and Brougham's article on 'The French Usurpation of Spain' (October 1808) are identified by Cutmore as three examples of the *Edinburgh Review*'s Whiggish political stance, the liberality of which sometimes offended even the more traditional members of the party (7).

The *Edinburgh Review*'s proto-radical ideology began to concern the Whig's political opponents, especially the articles on domestic and foreign policy. As Cutmore notes, reviews were published which 'hinted at alternative constitutional arrangements, [which] trenchantly criticized the Continental war effort in a period when British policy was going awry, and [which] impudently celebrated the 1808 Spanish insurrection against French occupation as a populist uprising of the "lower orders ... a warning to all oligarchies"' (6). Such challenges to the constitutional foundations of Britain's political order were alarming. Also of concern was the *Edinburgh Review*'s attacks on the country's religious and literary establishments, which, even prior to the publication of the aforementioned articles, was enough of a catalyst to instigate an organised counter-movement to the periodical.

This emerged in the form of the *Quarterly Review*. Similar to the origins of the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly* was envisioned by three young university friends, Stratford Canning, Gally Knight, and Richard Wellsley (7). Stratford Canning proposed the idea of the *Quarterly* to his cousin, George Canning, who was then Foreign Secretary. Through George Canning, Stratford was introduced to William Gifford, who went on to become the *Quarterly's* first editor. Having previously been acquainted with the three young men during an episode which involved one of their publications while they were at Eton (Cutmore 8), Murray most likely heard of the new venture through a mutual friend. Believing himself to be the publisher for such an undertaking, Murray contacted Canning at the Foreign Office who introduced him to Gifford. By the beginning of 1808 Murray and Gifford had met and decided that they would become the *Quarterly's* publisher and editor.

The first number of the *Quarterly* was published in February 1809. It was printed by Charles Roworth, and had a print run of 3,000 (Cutmore 37). The first number contained eighteen articles on such subjects as Robert Burns, Sir Philip Sidney, the Old Testament, and the Baptist Missionary Society. The periodical's literary, religious, and political stance was clear. That the *Quarterly* was to be a rival to the *Edinburgh Review* was further consolidated by the inclusion of Ellis's article on Spain, which offered a counterpoint to Brougham's 'Don Pedro Cevallos', which had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in October 1808. Although the *Quarterly* had partly achieved what it had intended in terms of content, the contributors were not happy about its style, which they feared did not match that of the *Edinburgh Review* (Cutmore 38). There were mixed reasons within Murray's circle as to why the first

number of the *Quarterly* was not the success they had envisioned. Scott blamed the lack of time the contributors had in preparing their articles, which prevented him from being able to see the proofs before they went to press. Whilst Murray blamed the content of the articles themselves, bemoaning the fact that government had not provided the inside information they had promised, which would have transformed the articles into sources of new and exclusive material (38).

Although the first three numbers of the *Quarterly* did not lose Murray any money, and in this way may be viewed as a success, the fractions amongst Murray's inner circle as to the way the *Quarterly* should be directed continued throughout these early months. It was not until the fourth number that the *Quarterly* achieved the sort of recognition for which Murray had originally hoped. Cutmore cites a number of reasons as to why the fourth number marked a turning point in the *Quarterly's* fortunes. The inauguration of John Barrow as a reviewer was perhaps the most important, as from the fourth number onwards he contributed two hundred articles up until 1824. As Second Secretary to the Admiralty, Barrow's articles contained precisely the sort of authoritative and exclusive content that Murray had wished for from the beginning of the periodical's conception. Robert Grant, who was renowned for his writing style and informative articles, was also a valuable addition at this time (63). Smaller changes included awarding Gifford a £25 bonus for bearing the weight of editing number four with minimal assistance from Murray. Southey also received an additional £13 10s for his contribution, and the price at which the *Quarterly* was sold increased from 5s to 6s, perhaps as a way to account for the extra outlay. The *Quarterly's* ongoing price of 6s, Cutmore suggests, enabled the *Quarterly* to



transcend the divide between being merely profitable and highly profitable (63). The overall profit for the first eleven numbers of the *Quarterly*, for example, was £257. Considering that numbers one to eleven had required an outlay of £10,200, it was no surprise that Murray's health broke down in August 1810 under the stress of working on the *Quarterly* for two years, with very little return (186).

Over the next decade, however, the *Quarterly* gathered momentum. The *Quarterly*'s close ties with government, Scott's and Barrow's articles, and Murray's association with Byron all contributed to the periodical's ascent. The increasing popularity of the *Quarterly* is evidenced by the archival information available on the periodical's print runs. Up to 1816, the *Quarterly* had a print run of roughly 5,500 per number. This increased significantly throughout 1816 (71). Cutmore attributes this to the change in political climate during this time, which resulted from an escalation of tension in post-Waterloo Britain, as the Radicals' movement gathered ground. In response to this, Tory supporters started to take the threat to the established order seriously. Thus, during this time the print run of the *Quarterly* increased rapidly: Number 28 (May 1816) had a print run of 8,000, Numbers 29 (August 1816) and 30 (November 1816) had a print runs of 8,500, respectively, Number 31 (February 1817) had a print run of 10,000, and Number 32 (April 1817) had a print run of 12,000 (73). In June 1818, the *Quarterly* reached its highest print run under Gifford's editorship, of 13,000 for Number 36. For a print run of 12,000, this meant that the *Quarterly* generated around £3,600 per number (75). By the early-1820s the *Quarterly* had 'reached a summit of popularity, infamy, and commercial success unprecedented for a periodical journal' (78).

By 1824, however, the *Quarterly* was once again traversing shaky ground. Gifford, who had been suffering with illness since 1822, was forced to retire from his editorship in September 1824 (Cutmore 79). In spite of the calibre of authors and *Quarterly* contributors which Murray had at his disposal, the decision as to who to appoint as the new editor was difficult. For the *Quarterly* to continue successfully, the new editor would need to demonstrate sound journalistic and editorial skills, in addition to the required political and ideological affiliations which the periodical embodied. Furthermore, the editor would need to be dedicated to the *Quarterly*, to the exclusion of any other professional pursuits they may have. Although the *Quarterly* was a respected periodical, and thereby differentiated from the ‘underclass’ of newspapers and monthly journals, an ‘editor’ was still an occupation which was in gestation. As such, the position did not offer a stable, or particularly lucrative salary, and did not bestow the same level of prestige as a career in law or politics; fields in which the majority of Murray’s prospective candidates worked, and would, therefore, need considerable incentive to leave.

After much deliberation, Murray and Gifford finally decided upon John Taylor Coleridge as the next editor. Installing Coleridge as editor, however, was a long, drawn-out process which spanned nearly two years. Coleridge was first invited to become editor in late-1822. Expressing that the editorship would impede upon his legal duties but was, nevertheless, manageable, was not the response which Murray was hoping for. Dissuaded by Coleridge’s unenthusiastic response to the offer, the *Quarterly* continued without a formal editor until late-1824, when Coleridge was approached once more. This time, Murray was convinced, or had at least convinced

himself, that Coleridge would be dedicated to the job. After beginning as editor, however, it soon transpired that Coleridge was still more committed to his legal career than he was to the *Quarterly*. Although Coleridge was never late in publishing a number of the *Quarterly*, he did not infuse the journal with the prestige which Murray had come to expect. When Coleridge was ousted as editor in November 1825 (99), Walter Scott described his editorship as ‘a most leaden interregnum’ in the *Quarterly*’s history (94).

While Coleridge’s editorship had been predominately uneventful for the *Quarterly*, it had a significant impact upon the internal relations of Murray’s inner circle. During Coleridge’s many absences from Albemarle Street as editor of the *Quarterly*, Murray had grown accustomed to overseeing the production of the periodical. Under Gifford’s editorship, this was not a possibility, and Murray was generally left on the sidelines. As a result, any major decisions which needed to be made about the *Quarterly*’s future, such as the appointment of a new editor, invariably involved not only Gifford but a whole network of contributors and political sponsors who were aligned to him. Throughout the period leading up to the appointment of Coleridge, for example, Barrow, Croker and Canning all wanted a say in who to award the editorship to. Under Coleridge’s tenure, however, these internal networks had started to dissipate and by 1825 Murray was treating the *Quarterly*, as Cutmore puts it, ‘as his personal property, to do with as he willed’ (101).

Thus, while the *Quarterly* had weakened under Coleridge’s direction, Murray’s control over it had strengthened. Now, once again without an editor,

Murray's next task was to appoint someone who would inject the periodical with life after Coleridge's deleterious reign. In the interim between Coleridge's departure and Murray's decision to appoint a new editor, however, Murray had been approached with an idea for a new journalistic undertaking. Benjamin D'Israeli, the twenty-year-old son of Murray's long-standing friend, Isaac D'Israeli, suggested to Murray that he launch a Tory newspaper which would rival *The Times* (Shattock 45). Feeling confident in his ability to transform new ventures into profit after the success of the *Quarterly*, and very possibly taken in by D'Israeli's 'eloquent, persuasive, and ingenious' manner (Smiles 182), Murray decided to launch a paper called *The Representative*. In 1825, Murray was, therefore, in need of two editors, one for the *Quarterly*, and one for *The Representative*.

It was through his recruitment campaign for an editor of *The Representative* that Murray found his next editor for the *Quarterly*. Having decided upon John Gibson Lockhart as the man for the job Murray dispatched D'Israeli to Lockhart's home in Edinburgh in an attempt to persuade him. If the editorship of a quarterly was not exactly attractive at the time, the editorship of a newspaper was even less so. As Shattock observes, 'the taint of journalism and the threat it might pose to a professional career were a constant source of worry' (Shattock 5). 'Journalism' by 1825 could, however, be broken down into specialised areas. Although newspaper and magazines had a poor reputation, quarterlies increasingly had 'gravitas and solidity' (Shattock 2), making them perfectly acceptable ventures for a gentleman to be involved with. Disraeli thus tried to embellish Lockhart's potential role at *The Representative* as being 'the Director-General of an immense organ and at the head

of a band of high bred gentlemen and important interests' (Shattock 45).

Nonetheless, the distinction between the newspapers and the quarterlies was one that

William Wright, Lockhart's adviser recognised, and advised Lockhart that:

Your accepting of the editorship of a newspaper would be *infra dig.*, and a losing of caste; but not so, as I think, the accepting of the editorship of the *Quarterly* ... An editor of a Review like the *Quarterly* is the office of a scholar and a gentleman; but that of a newspaper is not, for a newspaper is merely stock-in-trade, to be used as it can be turned to most profit. And there is something in it ... that is repugnant to the feelings of a gentleman. (Shattock 6).

That Lockhart should also be editor of the *Quarterly* was introduced to him by

Murray during this time of negotiations (46). It is unclear whether Murray made this

offer as a way to induce Lockhart to accept the editorship of *The Representative*, or

whether Murray really did want Lockhart to be the new *Quarterly* editor. In either

case, the offer of the *Quarterly* was enough to convince Lockhart to forgo a possible

career in either law or politics (46) and to commit full-time to both *The*

*Representative* and the *Quarterly*. The formal, written, agreement between Murray

and Lockhart no doubt helped to make the editorship feel more professional. Having

learnt from his mistakes with Coleridge, Murray this time stipulated, rather

repetitively, that Lockhart was to dedicate himself entirely to the *Quarterly*, to the

exclusion of all other professional pursuits:

John Murray has requested [Lockhart] to give up his professional practice at the Scotts Bar and to come down to London to edit the *Quarterly* [...]. Now the said John Murray himself, his heirs, executors and administrators doth hereby promise, covenant, and agree with the said John Gibson Lockhart, his executors and administrators that in consideration that he will give up his professional practice at Edinburgh and come to reside in London and edit the *Quarterly* in the manner herein often mentioned. (MS.42445)

The contract also set out the terms of Lockhart's remuneration. He was to be paid £250 per number of the *Quarterly*, which would amount to £1,000 or £1,250 depending on whether it was published four or five times a year – a decision which was at Lockhart's discretion. Stated in a separate document, Lockhart was to also receive £1,500 per annum for *The Representative* (Shattock 46).

As already discussed, Lockhart took over the *Quarterly* at a tumultuous time in the periodical's history. Coleridge's legacy had not only injured the *Quarterly*'s public reputation, but had dented the confidence of those contributors involved in it.

As Barrow wrote to Murray in August 1824:

I know not who your new editor is to be nor which arrangements you are working or have made for the *Quarterly*, but it is most important that your next number should be a good one, otherwise the world will be ready enough to say [...] that the *Quarterly*, having lost Gifford, is going down – and I do not think that you can do better than to have a good solid number.  
(MS.40056)

The next number of the *Quarterly*, however, continued to pass by unceremoniously. Number 61, published in December 1824, contained no stand-out article. There was an attempt to satisfy the demand for travel articles in the form of a review of Maria Graham's (Lady Calcott) *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence there during Part of the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823*. The reviewer did not help to ingratiate Graham's book to the public, however:

If Mrs Graham had copied nothing from the newspapers and been sensible that, with her slight knowledge of the characters with whom she mixed, her ignorance of the language in which they conversed, and her imperfect acquaintance with the customs and manners of the people, she was unqualified to write *political* disquisitions on Brazil, she might have presented to the public a small volume that would have been read with a considerable degree of interest. (*Quarterly*, December 1824, 14)

Another travel article in Number 61 was also written in a tone that would not have done much to inspire its readers. A review of Captain John Dundas Cochrane's *Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey through Russia and Siberian Tartary* portrays Cochrane as a feckless traveller, wandering aimlessly from place to place: 'His first idea was to cross Africa on foot, tracing the course of the Niger to its termination; and for the means of effecting his land-expedition, he tells us he applied to the Admiralty, where he is rather surprised to have met with no encouragement; we should have thought it more surprising if he had' (216).<sup>54</sup> Although both articles may have provided the reader with some entertainment through the lampooning of both travellers – and further distanced the *Quarterly* from allegations of puffing - it was not the 'solid number' which either he or Murray had hoped for.

Although Barrow clearly had a hand in the direction which his articles for the *Quarterly* took, he wrote again to Murray on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1825 to say, 'I need not tell you that the point of a review is to catch the murmurs as they rise and not to emblazon them when they are dead' (MS.40056). Whether Barrow was attempting to preclude himself from any blame, or whether Murray's hold over the *Quarterly* was by this point so strong as to dismiss the ideas of his contributors about the direction of the periodical is unclear. The latter is unlikely given the volume of correspondence between Murray, Lockhart, and the *Quarterly*'s various contributors. However, there is no evidence to answer whether the running of the *Quarterly* at this time can be attributed to Murray or Lockhart, and whether either of them really

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<sup>54</sup> Barrow wrote this review (Cutmore 179).

listened to the concerns of the contributors, in spite of corresponding with them. The following excerpt from a letter from Lockhart to Murray in January 1827 suggests that Murray was generally more in the know about matters pertaining to the *Quarterly* than Lockhart was: ‘You should tell me on all occasions what you feel and what you hear about the Review. It is only so that I can hope to be guided with advantage for people will speak to you more considerably than me’ (MS.42446). Aside from the managerial uncertainties that seem to have beset the *Quarterly*, its progress was further hindered by the changing political landscape of the 1820s. Although the government had remained under the direction of Robert Jenkinson, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Liverpool since 1812, a certain fraction of the Tory party had adopted ‘Liberal Toryism’ during the ministerial changes made between August 1822 and January 1823 (Evans 43). Evans describes these ministerial changes as ‘marking a genuine transition in Liverpool’s government from a “reactionary” phase, associated with popular unrest and suppression, to a “liberal” one associated with a wide range of reforms in domestic and commercial affairs and a new state of diplomacy’ (43). Although Evans acknowledges that there was a shift in ministerial thinking at this time, he also suggests that its practical effect was actually rather benign. For example, Evans notes that the new ministers did not incite any government ‘conversion’ in 1822 (45), rather they propagated a politics that was more concerned with commerce and ‘cautious experiment’ (44) than government reform.

That the effects of Liberal Toryism could still be felt amongst advocates of the Tory party as late as 1826, and were perhaps more divisive than Evans suggests, however, is evident in a letter from Southey to Murray in March of that year:



We must understand each other concerning the *Quarterly*. There is no person whose interests are likely to be more variously affected by the late changes in administration than yours. For a time, the Review must suffer whatever part it takes, and if it takes the wrong it will suffer permanently and irretrievably. I learn through the newspapers that it has cautiously abstained in this number from taking any [part]. (MS.42553)

That the *Quarterly* had hardly engaged with the issue of Liberal Toryism is interesting. Although the *Quarterly* was vehemently Conservative, the periodical very rarely voiced public opposition to Tory policies. As Southey says later on in the same letter:

While the coalition lasts, and while the liberals are in power, the Edinburgh will be the Government Review. It is impossible that you should take the lead in that line, and if you follow the Edinburgh you will travel in its dust. Moreover, you must be well aware that if the *Quarterly* abandons the constitutional principles of church and state which it has hitherto maintained, another journal will be started upon them, with ample funds for establishing it. The great parties onto which the nation is unhappily divided will have each its own journal of this kind: but no party can support two; and you will not be able to recover your position if you forsake it. On the other hand, a temperate but manly [...] adherence to these old principles which have been tried and proved, would secure for the *Quarterly*, whenever those principles recover their ascendancy, an ample return for all that it may lose meantime. (MS.42553)

In effect, Southey was directing Murray to do nothing about the decreasing sales of the *Quarterly*, in the hope that they would pick up once the Tory party had overcome its differences. This was not the most entrepreneurial of advice and highlights the *Quarterly's* dependency on political matters beyond the control of Lockhart and Murray.

Like the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh Review* also had a symbiotic relationship with politics. Both periodicals' status as quarterlies also further restricted what they could publish. As A.S.Collins says, the *Quarterly's* and *Edinburgh Review's* 'quality

imposed a limitation, and, as reviews, they were without the miscellaneous attractions of magazines. Magazines they were, but they were survivors not too brightly adapting themselves to the demands of the new century' (210). While the *Quarterly* had certainly benefited from its reputation of publishing 'quality' articles, as Collins suggests, this also left the *Quarterly* unable to adapt to changes in the market as it would have meant forgoing the very principles on which it was founded. This predicament is reflected in a letter by Southey to Murray in July 1827:

I said to you in my letter from Harrogate, that if the *Quarterly* forsook its own ground, another journal would be started to occupy it. A letter therefore announcing that there is such an intention, has not surprised me [...]. I do not wonder that you should have been perplexed as well as anxious in a crisis of such importance to yourself. But the straightforward course is the safe one. Let the *Quarterly* support the principles on which it was started, and those principles will support it. (MS.42553)

Southey's advice that the *Quarterly* just hold tight is a reiteration of the advice he gives in his letter of 5<sup>th</sup> March 1826. It is striking that a year passed between the two letters with no sign that Murray was doing anything to ensure the *Quarterly*'s survival, except waiting for the political tides to turn.

Meanwhile, the magazine market was increasing in popularity. As William Blackwood wrote in August 1826: 'Trade of every kind is still very flat here. I never knew trade so dull, and so little going on. My magazine, however, goes on flourishing, and the sale is increasing' (Oliphant 64). In the correspondence between Southey and Murray at this time it is apparent that Southey was following the changes in the magazine market with interest. In July 1828 he wrote to Murray to discuss the idea of the House publishing its own magazine:

I am induced to write to you concerning your projected magazine, because there is at this time a prospect for starting one [...]. Yet I do not think that any great success could be expected for some considerable time, and the matter must be very good, if it can make its way without the act of party spirit [...]. There is a portion of the public who will wish for better things; but that portion is perhaps not very large, and is to be got at slowly. You will want, therefore, some immediate attraction – and this is to be found in engravings, which both Colburn and Blackwood do. (MS.42553)

As far as I can find, this is the first time that one of the *Quarterly*'s affiliates suggests a practical solution to the periodical's decreasing readership (the print runs of the *Quarterly* are presented below). The 'principles' which Southey alluded to in his previous letters also seem to have been forgotten. At first, this letter appears to signify a change in direction for the House, away from the exclusivity and prestige of the *Quarterly* and towards the growing market for cheaper, popular magazines. Southey's reference to Colburn and Blackwood clearly state which readership he envisions the magazine being aimed at, while the revelation that the magazine will be 'without the act of party spirit' further differentiates it from how the *Quarterly* operates. Further on in the letter, however, Southey qualifies his ambitions for the magazine:

In the recovery part of the journal it should be understood that your magazine was subsidiary to the *Quarterly*, which might be well enough [known] without any direct assertion to that effect by referring reasonably from one to the other. Its coming from you would in fact imply such a connection. And reaching out with the right tone in morals, and feeling, compromising nothing, surrendering nothing, but injuring no-one, insulting no-one, and abstaining from everything offensive and uncharitable, success though it may be slow, would I think be sure. (MS.42553)

As with the Family Library, Southey positioned his idea for the magazine between two markets, without fully committing to either one of them. Theoretically, the benefit of producing a magazine that was published more frequently than the

*Quarterly*, was cheaper, and freer of party control is apparent. Trying to dress such a magazine up as a 'subsidiary' to the *Quarterly*, however, would have severely limited its appeal to readers. It is debatable that a magazine which was publically connected to the *Quarterly* would have appealed to many more readers than the *Quarterly* itself did, the readership of which was still depressed. This again shows the predicament that the House found itself in when trying to maintain the traditional principles on which it was built, when challenged by cheaper forms of publication.

Murray's hesitancy in following Southey's advice can again be surmised by the time which passes between letters on the same subject. In December 1830, two years after Southey's earlier letter on the matter, he wrote once more to Murray to say:

Do not let the intention of starting a magazine drop – no other person can start one with such advantages, and it would come in aid of the *Quarterly* in many ways. The English Magazine, or The British – or The Friendly, or The Conservative Magazine (to mark its temper or its principle), wither of these names might do, if no better should occur – and it would soon make many people ashamed of the profligate and scurrilous trash which they now take in for want of anything better. (MS.42553)

This letter is more candid about the House's need to retain its Conservative principles – both politically and morally. In spite of Southey now presenting the magazine in such a way, Murray still did not pursue the idea, and continued to suffer 'the injury' (December 3<sup>rd</sup> 1831, Southey) from magazines and newspapers throughout this time.

In December 1831 there is evidence that instead of publishing a magazine, Murray was contemplating making the *Quarterly* more like one. Murray's intention

was to curtail the length of the *Quarterly* articles, so as to make them comparable to a magazine. Southey's concern was that this would 'both change and lower the character of your Review.' He advised Murray that Blackwood's magazine was in fact lengthening its articles, which had increased its sales and 'conferred upon it a degree of respectability which it did not formerly possess.' This suggests that the demand for the kind of article for which the *Quarterly* was traditionally known was still coveted by the public. The fact that the print run of the *Quarterly* in December 1831 had just decreased by another five hundred copies, however, implies that it was not the length of the articles that was problematic, otherwise why would the *Quarterly* not be selling as well as *Blackwood's*? The problem was something that was unique to the *Quarterly*. Southey's comparison of the length of the *Quarterly's* articles to those in *Blackwood's* at this time is, therefore, an oversimplification of the many factors which contributed to the success of a publication.

As suggested above, the *Quarterly's* proximity to Tory politics further paralysed the periodical during periods in its history when sales were already under threat from the rise of magazines and newspapers. In the mid-1820s, the *Quarterly* had been reluctant to address the issue of Liberal Toryism and the factions it caused within the party. In the late-1820s, the *Quarterly* was slow to comment on the Catholic Question, as Lockhart wrote to Murray: 'I found that the *Quarterly* had all along kept neutral as to the Catholic Question and have considered it as due to your interests not to be in a hurry and propose any change as to this matter' (MS.42446). The next significant threat to the Tories was the Reform Bill crisis. The movement for parliamentary reform, which advocated a re-ordering of parliament so as to

provide better representation for the constituents of the large cities which had emerged during the Industrial Revolution, was felt throughout the 1820s. The Tories were vehement opponents to the idea of parliamentary reform but, in 1829, a faction of the party gave their support to it after the Duke of Wellington's involvement in the Catholic Relief Act 1829.

Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, we can see the *Quarterly's* print run steadily decrease from its peak of 14,000 during the previous decade. Unfortunately, the print run for some numbers were not recorded, so these numbers have been omitted from the following table. Nonetheless, the overall trend of the *Quarterly's* print runs can be gauged from the available records:

| Number | Date <sup>55</sup> | Print Run |
|--------|--------------------|-----------|
| 57     | Oct 1823           | 12,500    |
| 58     | Dec 1823           | 12,500    |
| 70     | c. May 1827        | 12,000    |
| 71     | c. August 1827     | 12,000    |
| 72     | c. December 1827   | 11,500    |
| 73     | c. January 1828    | 11,500    |
| 74     | c. April 1828      | 11,500    |
| 75     | c. July 1828       | 11,000    |
| 76     | c. September 1828  | 11,000    |

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<sup>55</sup> As Cutmore notes, the print and publication dates for the *Quarterly* often differ. I am therefore going by the dates recorded by Murray in the archival Ledger Books. The dates are not always given in full, but they give an accurate indication of the print runs.

|     |               |        |
|-----|---------------|--------|
| 77  | January 1829  | 10,750 |
| 78  | April 1829    | 10,500 |
| 81  | July 1829     | 10,500 |
| 82  | November 1829 | 10,500 |
| 83  | January 1830  | 10,500 |
| 84  | April 1830    | 10,500 |
| 85  | May 1830      | 10,500 |
| 86  | October 1830  | 10,500 |
| 87  | February 1831 | 10,500 |
| 88  | March 1831    | 10,500 |
| 89  | April 1831    | 10,500 |
| 90  | July 1831     | 10,500 |
| 91  | 1831          | 9,000  |
| 92  | 1831          | 10,000 |
| 93  | 1832          | 10,000 |
| 94  | 1832          | 10,000 |
| 95  | 1832          | 10,000 |
| 96  | 1832          | 9,000  |
| 97  | 1833          | 9,000  |
| 98  | 1833          | 9,500  |
| 99  | 1833          | 9,250  |
| 100 | 1833          | 9,250  |
| 101 | 1834          | 9,250  |
| 102 | June 1834     | 9,250  |

|             |                          |       |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------|
| 103         | August 1834              | 9,000 |
| 104         | November 1834            | 9,000 |
| 105         | January 1835             | 9,250 |
| 106         | April 1835               | 9,500 |
| 107         | July 1835                | 9,250 |
| 108         | October 1835             | 9,250 |
| 109         | December 1835            | 9,250 |
| 110         | 1836                     | 9,250 |
| 111         | 1836                     | 9,250 |
| 112         | 1836                     | 9,250 |
| 113         | September 1836           | 9,250 |
| 114         | December 1836            | 9,250 |
| 115         | March 1837               | 9,250 |
| 116         | April 1837               | 9,250 |
| 117         | July 1837                | 9,250 |
| 118         | October 1837             | 9,250 |
| 119 and 120 | March 1839 <sup>56</sup> | 3,500 |
| 121         | January 1838             | 9,250 |
| 122         | April 1838               | 9,250 |

The number of people who read the *Quarterly* was of course far greater than the print runs suggest. A letter from Murray in December 1835 provides an idea of what he

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<sup>56</sup> This is the year written in the Ledger Book (MS.42728). The fact that it is chronologically out of place may be because 'March 1839' was the date the entry was written into the Ledger Book, rather than the date at which numbers 119 and 120 were published.



believed the readership to be: ‘9,500 copies have already circulated to all quarters of the kingdom, and on a moderate imputation, 100,000 readers have read or will peruse it. If you wish it to extend further, advise all persons to read it – they will find it in every reading room and library in the kingdom’ (MS.41911). That the circulation of the *Quarterly* extended beyond the major publishing cities of London and Edinburgh was significant to Murray, as the *Quarterly*’s notoriety continued to decline in the late-1830s. A letter from Lockhart to Murray in August 1838 suggests that he and Murray were increasingly turning to the provinces as a way to ensure the *Quarterly*’s survival. The lengthy letter from Lockhart to Murray, which can be found in Appendix Three, suggests that the ‘table talk of London’ was becoming passé in the late-1830s, with its association to the ‘meretricious novel or the smart newspaper squib of the hour.’ As far as I can find, this is one of the clearest articulations of the shift in the House away from the drawing room culture of the previous years which was characterised by Murray’s own predilection for table talk, towards a more strategically executed attempt to reposition the *Quarterly* within the periodical market. As the letter suggests, this involved broadening the *Quarterly*’s appeal through a diversification of articles which would be accessible to any ‘lay class of our countrymen’ such as ‘the political reader – for the history student – for the clergyman – the young academic – and my lady’s gossiping circle.’ It also involved ‘look[ing] to the country, where our chances of maintaining [...] influence lies’, a further sign that the *Quarterly*’s grip on London society was weakening.

Lockhart’s letter also signals the *Quarterly*’s move away from the hold of Tory politics. Recognising that ‘the Tories are a divided party’, Lockhart seems to

suggest that it would be best for the *Quarterly* to distance itself from ‘their internal disputes and jealousies’. The *Quarterly*’s increasing independence from the party is further suggested by a later letter from Lockhart to Murray on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1839.

[...] Anything said about politics in unparliamentary [sic] language startles and offends persons used to that language alone – but print is not parliamentary speaking, nor does the QR address itself exclusively to great lords and fine gentleman. It is my opinion that the QR would be incapable of any service to the party if it were to become the mere tool of our chiefs – that it must preserve the attitude of independence, and occasionally serve its friends in spite of themselves. (MS.42452)

This letter, once again, signals a move away from the previous years of close relations between the *Quarterly* and government officials, and ‘great lords and fine gentleman’ and towards a more democratic model of publishing which ‘preserve[s] the attitude of independence.’ When compared to the rhetoric which was used to entice Lockhart into the role of editor back in 1825, which William Wright described as ‘the office of a scholar and a gentleman’, it is evident that even the *Quarterly*, which had retained its gentlemanly prestige for so long, was finally succumbing to the ‘multitudes of new journals’. In a letter from Croker to Lockhart in January 1842 (Appendix Four), Croker contemplates the reasons for the *Quarterly*’s demise, acknowledging that they perhaps clung to the traditions upon which the *Quarterly* was founded for too long, or as Croker puts it, ‘our pristine vigour and rarity’. Characterised by a similar tone to Lockhart’s letter, Croker is quite candid about the strategies which Murray should follow. The dreaded ‘shorter articles’ which Murray had tenaciously avoided throughout the years are once more suggested, as is the realisation that readers now expect, for 6s, ‘ten pounds worth of solid volumes.’ This apparent economic incongruity is similar to that which Murray encountered when he

published the ‘lavishly embellished’ monthly editions of Byron’s works. In some respects it seems that Murray’s own financial generosity during the production of such works continued to be costly, as the public expected to continue to be able to buy more for less and less, an economic model which he himself pioneered.

Thus, throughout this turbulent period, which saw technological innovations in modes of literary production, growth in literacy rates, the decline of poetry, the threat of piratical publishing, and significant political divisions, Murray was able to respond positively, although not always speedily, to capitalise upon the changes which influenced the book-buying patterns of readerships across an increasing number of markets. Although Murray was not always able to successfully predict the popularity of a new venture, such as the monthly editions of Crabbe, he managed to maintain high standards of publishing throughout this period while also appealing to cheaper markets, a balance which differentiated the House from its competitors and which continued to serve him well over the coming years.

### **Chapter Three**

#### **Murray and 'Women's Writing'**

As explored in the previous two chapters, during the 1820s and 1830s Murray was presented with the challenge of retaining the House's reputation for quality publications in the face of an expanding market for literature aimed at the burgeoning middle class. The opulent quartos which had characterised the House during the days of Byron and explorers such as Franklin and Parry were now viewed as unnecessarily excessive. Without wanting to alienate his core patronage, however, Murray devised a way of re-branding Byron so that his works could be sold to new readers while retaining control over his public image. The maintenance of Byron's public image was integral to the continued success of the House, given the investment that Murray had made in the copyrights and drawing room culture which had placed Byron as its centrepiece. A further challenge to Murray's profits during the 1820s and 1830s was the emergence of the annuals, which were edited collections of poetry and prose designed predominately for middle class female readers. The annuals' commodification of art, poetry and the aristocratic lifestyle were viewed as crass by the upper classes. The annuals were, however, successful in exploiting the female readership market which had been left open by the decline of poetry, and were also platforms for the female author and editor to write and receive an income on a regular basis.

Murray did not publish an annual, but he did publish a significant number of female authors. This chapter will explore his publishing relations with Elizabeth

Rundell, Madame de Staël, Caroline Norton, and Mary Somerville in an attempt to foreground how they contributed to the House, and Murray to their writing careers. As discussed below, contemporary criticism has tended to group all female authors under the term ‘women writers’, which has resulted in a tendency to approach the history of female authorship in an overly gender-centric way. Inevitably, gender considerations form a part of the investigation, but issues such as class are also equally important.

As this chapter seeks to demonstrate, there is no overarching pattern that can be surmised from Murray’s dealings with female authors and which can be attributed to any gender bias on his part. Instead, as with the male authors, there is a tendency by Murray to treat those with connections or money more favourably than those who came from modest backgrounds. Given the drawing room culture which formed an integral part of the House’s operations this is not surprising and also explains why Murray did not wish to publish an annual which would only ever have been a cheap emulation of the real drawing room which he and his authors frequented. Indeed, the drawing room culture can be seen to pervade all of these authors’ dealings with Murray. De Staël became a regular, but as will be seen, controversial, visitor to Albemarle Street, and Lady Elizabeth Eastlake was invited to live with the Murrays for three months (Paston 46). Mary Somerville’s career was also shaped by the drawing room as she became the only woman to have her portrait commissioned for Murray’s gallery. With all of these examples there is evidence that gender expectations informed Murray’s relations with these authors, but the overriding impression is that Murray’s publishing strategies were devised to attain profit and

maintain respectability for the House, which were his primary concerns for all areas of the business at this time.

### **The Annuals**

While changes in technology instigated the decline of poetry and the subsequent rise of cheap literature, a consequence of these technological advances was the genesis of the literary annual in the early-1820s. New methods of publication ‘stripped poetry of its cultural pre-eminence’ (Erickson 19) as it became more easily available to the growing middle class. Although volumes of poetry were more widely available they did not sell in the quantities seen during the previous decade. Thus, although lower prices, in theory, made poetry more accessible to the middle class, its price tag was reduced at a time when new forms of publication, such as the magazine and the literary annual, were increasing in popularity. Rather than buying single volumes of poetry by individual authors, readers increasingly spent their money on the newer forms of publication, which offered poems and articles by an array of authors. In addition, the annuals also incorporated the latest developments in printing, such as picture engraving, and were forerunners to *Fraser’s* in the dialogue between word and image that they presented.

While poetry declined in price and popularity, the annuals’ readership increased. The first annual, *Forget Me Not* by Rudolph Ackerman was launched in 1823 and by 1831 there were sixty-two annuals (Manning 44), which highlights the demand for the annual and its rapid success as a publishing format. The annuals were predominately read by women, as Southey commented: ‘Annuals are now the only

books bought for presents to young ladies, in which way poems formerly had their chief vent' (Erikson 26). The annuals were typically sold for between eight shillings and four pounds (Feldman 55), which enabled the rising middle-class to purchase a piece of 'cheap luxury' (Manning 47) at a time when the three-decker was still 31s 6d. Paula Feldman's recent scholarship on the annuals' readership suggests that most readers of the annuals were female, although men often purchased the annuals to give to women as a sign of affection. Interestingly, however, in her study, which uncovers the owner's gender of 106 annuals through examination of the inscriptions, Feldman found that 27 percent of the annuals were not only bought but owned by males. While Feldman's sample is perhaps too small to extrapolate any definitive conclusion, it serves as a reminder to scholars to return to the original sources where possible to mitigate the perpetuation of critical assumptions.

As the annuals gathered momentum they generated high revenues for those who produced them. The *New Monthly Magazine* estimated that 'the sum expended in "getting up" these volumes averages about 3,000*l*', giving some idea of the scale that was involved (July 1831, 455). The pecuniary ambitions of such publishers were barely disguised, with the annuals being described as 'an object of barter' in this same article. The recognition that the annuals were commodity items first and foremost was insulting to those purveyors of literature who advocated art over profit, as the following remark suggests: 'The poet who has said within his soul, "What shall I get?" has taken one great and irrevocable step back from real greatness' (456). As Peter Manning notes, the reviews of the annuals at the time frequently explored the cost-benefit ratio of publication 'on which the annuals were based; a heavy

investment – in artists, writers, and production – loudly trumpeted, to be recouped by volume of sales’ (47).

The annuals’ financial success led to a homogenised display of literature and visual images within their pages as publishers perpetuated their highly lucrative and reliable formula. While publishers expended much expense and effort on the appearance of the annuals, such as silk bindings and India engravings, the pictures within the annuals were criticised by some who viewed such technological advances as damaging to the quality of ‘original’ art. On the subject of engraving, a relatively new printing technique which the annuals took full advantage of, the *New Monthly* said:

The discovery of engraving is like that of printing, it extends ad infinitum the productions of the artist. If only taken in one point of view, the effect is immense: we mean the demand created for pictures in order to engrave them. We are thus familiarised with the finest productions. But the influence which elevates taste deteriorates art. Too great a supply is needed of merely pretty and second-rate pictures, to give proper encouragement to first-rate works (455).

While the *New Monthly* did not define what they meant by first and second-rate works, it is apparent that they associated the annuals with the ‘deterioration’ of art, art being those works which demonstrated characteristics outside the realm of common ‘taste’, which the ubiquity of the annuals helped to shape through the multitude of contributors and images that they presented.

The division between respectable ‘art’ and the ‘spread of taste’ (Manning 57) which the annuals embodied resulted in potential contributors being deterred by their association with such a publication. Wordsworth referred to the annuals as ‘those



greedy receptacles of trash, those Bladders upon which the Boys of Poetry swim' (Manning 68), whilst Scott declared that 'to become a stipendiary Editor of a Newsyear gift book is not to be thought of, nor could I agree to work for any quantity of supply to such a publication' (48). In spite of their reservations, both Wordsworth and Scott contributed to the annuals, both authors clearly out of other options during the stagnant conditions of the 1820s marketplace. In the end, both Wordsworth and Scott contributed to the *Keepsake*, which was singled out by *Fraser's* as being 'very injurious to art, and not favourable to literature' (*Fraser's*, December 1830). In spite of the backlash the annuals received from some quarters of the press, they still attracted respectable names. Contributors to the *Amulet*, for example, included Thomas Lawrence, Henry William Pickersgill, and Benjamin Haydon for the images, and Felicia Hemans, Letitia Landon (L.E.L.), Mary Mitford, Barry Cornwall, Allen Cunningham, Caroline Norton, and Mrs Hall for the articles.

As can be seen from this list of contributors to the 1832 edition of the *Amulet*, the majority of authors are female. While male authors did write for the annuals, by the 1830s there were a dominant number of female contributors within the field. As Manning notes, the female contributors were of a particular class, with the editorships often going to 'titled women' (56) such as Lady Emmeline Worthy and Lady Blessington and high-society figures such as Caroline Norton. The social standing of these editors is significant as it represents the aristocratic ambitions of the middle class readers who used the annuals as a way to gain access to the lifestyle that they aspired to. Edward Bulwer Lytton described these readers as 'quasi-aristocrats':

In proportion as the aristocracy had become social, and fashion allowed the members of the more mediocre classes a hope to outstep the boundaries of fortune, and be quasi-aristocrats themselves, people eagerly sought for representations of the manners in which they inspired to imitate, and the circles to which it was not impossible to belong. (Warne 160)

Warne notes how twentieth century critics also made the link between the annuals' readership and aristocratic ambitions. Glennis Stephenson, for example, associates the annuals with 'cultural emulation', with portraits of aristocratic members and poems written by them, celebrating their lifestyle and imparting their values (Warne 160). In her study of William Makepeace Thackeray and the annuals, Warne notes how Thackeray aligned the annuals with 'social ambition and aristocratic aspirations' (162) in *Vanity Fair*.

The proliferation of pictures in the annuals altered the middle classes expectations about their access to art. Due to financial reasons, middle class members were often prevented from owning the 'original' or gaining access to privileged spaces such as clubs and galleries to view them. The burgeoning circulation of engraved copies of portraits only previously accessible to the upper classes, however, incited a backlash from critics. As Warne explores, Thackeray regularly denounced the annuals, in spite of contributing to them himself.

Thackeray's main objection to the annuals was the depreciation of original artwork that they caused. In one review Thackeray reflected that 'the consequence is, that with all these facilities, the public has acquired such a taste for art as is far worse than regular barbarism' ('The Annuals', *The Times*, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1838). The technological advances that had enabled printers to reproduce images cheaply and easily were viewed by Thackeray as a threat to the 'originality and honesty of artists'

(Warne 165). Thackeray's artistic hierarchy which places the original over the reproduction is similar to Murray's own preoccupation with preserving the 'aura of originality' (Benjamin), as discussed in relation to the drawing room in Chapter One.

Perhaps the most overt attempt at enabling the middle-classes to frequent the cultural spaces of the upper classes was the *Drawing Room Scrapbook*. Published by Fisher between 1832-1854, the *Drawing Room Scrapbook* was more visual than the other annuals, with an average of 36 engravings per volume. The large size of the annual also emphasised its visuality. As well as including portraits, the *Scrapbook* also showed exotic scenes from India, Africa, Asia, and Greece, mimicking the sort of imperial signifiers which were often on display in the aristocratic drawing room. Indeed, the size of the *Scrapbook*, coupled with its mixture of aristocratic portraits and foreign paraphernalia would have transported the reader into their own private aristocratic drawing room. The feeling of intimacy which the *Scrapbook* conveyed was heightened by the editorial voice which dominated the majority of its pages. Unlike other annuals, the editor of the *Scrapbook* contributed the majority of poems. The continuity of voice from the upper class editor would thereby give authenticity to the drawing room culture they were trying to purvey within the pages of the annual.<sup>57</sup>

The access to the aristocratic drawing room which the annual supposedly granted to the middle-class reader, however, was satirised by *Fraser's* which

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<sup>57</sup> *The Drawing Room Scrapbook* had a total of five editors: L.E.L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon) (1832-1838), Mary Howitt (1838-1843), Sarah Ellis (1843-1845), Caroline Norton (1846-1849), and Charles Mackay (1850-1854).

described the *Scrapbook* as ‘a sea-pie, made up of scraps that have been served at many tables before’ (January 1847). As Warne suggests, ‘the book-as-pie metaphor undercuts the high class aura of the genre. Deflating the association of annuals with aristocracy, marking them instead as emblematic of frugal middle-class domesticity’ (166). *Fraser’s* marking of class through the evocation of food is one of the three structures of consumption which Bourdieu suggests connotes class. In *Distinction* Bourdieu observes that:

Tastes in food depend on the idea each class has of the body and the effects of food on the body, that is, on its strength, health and beauty; and on the categories used to evaluate these effects, some of which may be important for one class and ignored by another, and which the different classes may rank in different ways (190).

As the ‘book-as-pie metaphor’ implies, Thackeray was putting the middle class reader back in their place by reminding them of the financial limitations which shaped their daily decisions. The pie, which suggests a measured consumption of food designed to provide nourishment and satisfaction at the lowest possible cost, is a contrast to a description of dining at Murrays: ‘hours of intellectual chat/O’er claret, venison, grouse, and pheasant’ (McClary 208). Caroline Norton’s poem, written in honour of Murray, was published in the *Bijou* annual in 1842. Norton’s menu of rare and expensive meat portrays dinner at Albemarle Street as an ostentatious occasion where the conversation and wine flow without limitation, financial or otherwise.

The extravagance of the aristocratic drawing room was, however, still subject to strict modes of conduct. Another criticism levelled against the annuals was, therefore, the subversive femininity that some of the editors were seen to propound.

While the annuals ‘provided a vehicle and support for the woman writer’ (Manning 56), they were subject to scrutiny when it came to the issue of female authorship. As Manning elaborates, the aristocratic editors ‘challenged the notion upon which the annuals were built, that women were domestic, incapable beings’ (56).<sup>58</sup> It is apparent, that a significant number of editors and contributors wrote for the annuals as a way to save themselves from poverty. In spite of congenital aristocratic and upper-class connections, women who experienced divorce or the death of their husband were not financially protected by law. Rappoport notes that under these circumstances, the public were generally sympathetic to the female author trying to maintain the financial security of her family through writing. The scandal that could accompany a woman’s change of marital status, however, often thrust personal details of their lives into the already public position they occupied as editor or contributor to the annuals.

Blessington, who edited *The Book of Beauty* and *The Keepsake* after her husband’s death exemplifies how female authors were particularly susceptible to being the focus of public innuendo. As Susanne Schmid notes: ‘Most public figures could confine gossip about their transgressions to their own social circle, but for Blessington, her most intimate mishaps became public property’ (89). Schmid

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<sup>58</sup> Jill Rappoport in ‘Buyer Beware: The Gift Poetics of Letitia Elizabeth Landon’ explores the content of Landon’s contributions to the annuals, suggesting that ‘though the subversive nature of women’s work was largely concealed by its framing in the books as “gift”, women’s editorial work on the annuals, the writings they contributed to them, and the relationship of those writings to the engravings they were meant to illustrate could all disrupt gender expectations’ (448). Although Rappoport provides some examples of how Landon’s contributions challenged typical models of femininity, they are sometimes too heavily reliant on how the ‘modern viewer’ (448) views the content of the annuals, as opposed to how the nineteenth century reader may have interpreted the content. As such, I suggest that the annuals’ most subversive contribution to gender expectations came from their publications history and the relationship of the (female) editor and contributor to the broader literary marketplace.

suggests that this was deliberate, however, and that women like Norton, L.E.L., and Blesington transformed their private lives into sellable commodities. In this respect, they were not dissimilar from authors like Medwin who made a fortune out of exposing some of Byron's private scandals. Whether such authors were 'victims' of malicious gossip or conscious contributors to their own forlorn reputations, it was another reason used by more conservative members of the upper-classes to further denounce the annuals' credibility.

### **Murray and 'Women Writers'**

For a publisher like Murray there was little incentive to become involved with the annuals, in spite of the financial rewards. Their degradation of art, the licentious undertones of their editors' lives, and their overall cheapening of aristocratic life for middle-class consumption, are at obvious odds with the publishing brand that Murray was constructing. Although the annuals offered a platform, particularly for female authors, Murray still published a significant number of female authors in spite of not publishing an annual. During the 1820s-1840s Murray published works by Felicia Hemans, L.E.L, Caroline Norton, Trollope, Maria Rundell, Jane Marcet, Mrs Markham, Fanny Kemble, Lady Eastlake, Anna Jameson, and Mary Somerville. As with the male authors, there is no one model of author-publisher relations that can be used to summarise how Murray conducted business with these authors. For example, there are significant differences between how Murray corresponded with Eastlake as opposed to Rundell.

The critical treatment of ‘women writers’ has been a subject of on-going contention. Just the term ‘women writers’ has elicited a strong reaction from some critics who consider it another example of the male-centric approach to nineteenth century literary history. Jacqueline Labbe, for example, has suggested that the term presents ‘women writers’ as a ‘homogenous group [...] whose approach to text and composition overrides individuality in a way that Smollett’s, Richardson’s, and William Wordsworth’s do not’ (2). Similarly, Jacqueline Pearson has recognised that the critical promulgation of the term ‘women writers’ has caused differences in ‘class, age, date, region, nationality, political and religious affiliations, education, and so on’ (14) to be overlooked, both in relation to female writers and readers. As Pearson further notes, ‘the terms women, reading and reader [are] now acknowledged to be problematic [...]. If the category “woman” has no guaranteed stability, and if femininity is manufactured rather than innate, it becomes all the more important to trace the meaning of such terms in as nuanced and historically informed a way as possible.’

The need for more nuanced accounts of the history of female authorship is echoed by Linda Peterson in *Becoming a Woman of Letters*. Peterson notes that patterns and theories of female authorship are often too generalised, as in Norma Clarke’s *The Rise and Fall of the Woman of Letters*, and Tuchman and Fortin’s *Edging Women Out*. Peterson suggests that Betty Schellenberg offers a more balanced approach to female authorship, which examines the self-conscious and diverse ways in which female authors constructed their authorial identities and negotiated the literary marketplace. In *The Professionalization of Women Writers in*

*Eighteenth Century Britain*, Schellenberg suggests that ‘it is only when we are prepared to let go of gender as our fundamental interpretative category, it is only when we self-consciously rethink the frameworks through which we currently see and do not see [...] women writers, it is only as we begin to consider women writers and their texts as the participants in literary and publishing networks that they were, that we shall be freed of the constraining picture of their working in the shadow of the dominant male writers of the day’ (182).

While ‘rethinking the framework’ is a credible suggestion, Schellenberg does not offer an alternative framework by which to do this. The closer consideration of female authors as participants in the broader literary marketplace and its networks which Schellenberg suggests is, however, an important avenue of exploration, as it encourages critics to seek out archival documents as a way to uncover some of these networks. Letting ‘go of gender as our fundamental interpretative category’ is more problematic, however. Although some critical accounts of female authorship have consistently, and incorrectly, presented women writers as an oppressed group, often because they have paid more attention to women’s hardships as opposed to their successes, the fact is that there were differences between male and female authors because there were base differences between how men and women could operate within the public and private spheres. As such, ‘the fundamental interpretative category’ of gender cannot easily be cast to one side. It can, however, be tempered by approaching the subject of female authorship on a case by case basis, which examines, where possible, many aspects of an author’s life and writing career, as opposed to those parts which solely relate to gender biases. For, while there were



fundamental differences between acceptable male and female behaviour both in the literary marketplace and outside it, there were also significant overlaps. As will be explored in this chapter, both male and female authors belonged to literary coteries, both were concerned with public image, and both, at times, did not receive payment commensurate with the success of their work. Theories that highlight different strategies used by female authors to ‘break in’ to publishing, such as the use of nom de plumes,<sup>59</sup> masculine language,<sup>60</sup> and the exploitation of male contacts within the industry,<sup>61</sup> have tended to distort the realities of the literary marketplace, namely that male authors frequently resorted to these tactics as well.

Throughout my reading of the correspondence and sales figures of a majority of the female authors published by Murray during the 1820s-1840s there seems to be no pattern, with all concerned being treated as individuals. There were some common threads, however, such as business negotiations often being conducted through male interlocutors, and male figures already connected to Murray being used as a way to get manuscripts noticed, although this was not consistent amongst all female authors, and were strategies that were also employed by some male authors. The following examples of some of Murray’s dealings with his female authors aim to foreground how differently they could be treated by Murray, leading one to suggest that, as with his male authors, more effort was expended on ‘well-connected’ female

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<sup>59</sup> Alexis Easley. *First-Person Anonymous*. 2004.

<sup>60</sup> Valerie Sanders. *Eve’s Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminist Women Novelists*. 1996.

<sup>61</sup> Mary Poovey. *Uneven Developments*. 1988.

authors of the upper classes than those from more modest backgrounds, suggesting that class rather than gender was a more important factor in Murray's consideration.

As mentioned in Chapter One, one of Murray's biggest successes was the publication of *Domestic Cookery* by Maria Elizabeth Rundell (1845-1828).

Comparatively little is known about Rundell. She was the widow of a surgeon from Bath, and described as 'a near relation of the silversmith on Ludgate Hill' by *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Nov 1821, 465). In other words, Rundell came from a modest family when compared to the Lords and Ladies whom Murray was otherwise acquainted with. By the time she met Murray, the occasion of which is not clear, she was already 60. In 1805, Rundell offered *Domestic Cookery* to Murray. The book was an instant success. By 1810, Murray was issuing print runs of 8,000 copies, increasing to 10,000 in 1812 (MS.42720). The book generated a consistently high profit for Murray: £631-5s-6d in January 1810, £876-13s-6d in May 1810, £966 in November 1811, and £1,108 in October 1812 (MS.42720).

Throughout this period, however, relations between Rundell and Murray broke down. Rundell had originally given *Domestic Cookery* to Murray in 1805 as a gift for which she asked no remuneration. Rundell's decision to not demand any formal contract or any payment at all in case of the book's financial success provides some insight into the lack of commercial awareness which characterised her early dealings with Murray. After years of Murray profiting from *Domestic Cookery*, Rundell sought an injunction to prevent him from continuing to publish the book in 1821, at which point the fourteen year copyright had expired. The transcript of the case, *Rundell v Murray* (November 1821) is a fascinating account of the differing

views between author and publisher over their respective rights to a book which was *prima facie* subject to neither contract nor copyright. Heald and Pepys, the lawyers for Rundell, submitted that the Statute of Anne held that copyright did not pass after fourteen years to the publisher, and as the book was a ‘mere parol gift’ to Murray, it should not be subjected to the greater enforcement of the statute than those books which were officially assigned to a publisher under contract, and for which the statute was passed to protect. The lawyers for Murray, however, suggested that the contract between Rundell and Murray was, in effect, the advertisement for *Domestic Cookery* in which Rundell declared that her ‘book is given to the public for which she will receive no emolument.’ Rundell’s admission that she expected no payment was interpreted as her declaration that Murray should receive the book as a gift, thereby making it exempt from the usual rules of copyright and payment. This line of argument was further supported by the relations that took place between Murray and Rundell in 1808. Based on the early success of the book, Murray sent Rundell a cheque for £150, on receipt of which she wrote to Murray: ‘I can only truly say I never had the smallest idea of any return for what really was a free gift to one whom I had long regarded as my friend’ (MS.41046).

Clearly, Rundell’s early dealings with Murray were casually executed, with proceedings being conducted in a friendly, as opposed to business-like, fashion. The ‘friendship’ between Rundell and Murray is curious, however, considering that Murray was only twenty-seven at the time he met the sixty-year-old Rundell. Given that Rundell described herself and Murray as friends, there is scant evidence to suggest that she ever dined at Albemarle Street or socialised with Murray in any

capacity. A letter in 1814 actually suggests that she felt that Murray was neglecting the publication of her books (MS. 41046).

After the case went to court in 1821, there is a further series of correspondence between Sharon Turner, Murray's legal adviser, and Murray, which make evident that Rundell was unwilling to accept the judgement: 'an author having given a work to a publisher, who, by the sale of it, reimbursed his expenses and made considerable profit, cannot, at the end of the first fourteen years, restrain him by injunction from continuing publication.' In December 1821 Turner wrote to Murray, 'I am sorry to tell you that Mrs Rundell's attorney has secured me with a copy of will for you [...] I am sorry that by so doing she prevents you making the friendly arrangements you wished' (MS.41046). Interestingly, the word 'friendly' is used once again, only this time it is not Rundell using the word. In Rundell's mind, dealings had clearly shifted from friendship to business. It is unclear what the arrangements were, but it can be suggested that they involved Murray paying out some money to Rundell as suggested in the case's judgement: 'In making the Plaintiff a present [the cheque of £150], he did what he ought to do, and what I hope he will continue to do, recollecting that it is through her kindness that he had the opportunity of making it.' Rundell's refusal of whatever Murray's offer may have been meant that legal proceedings continued into 1822, as a letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> June 1822 from Turner to Murray suggests, in which he outlines the submissions which made up Murray's defence. The case, however, did not return to court, and in 1824 Murray finally paid Rundell £2,105 for *Domestic Cookery* (MS.42725). Given the profits that *Domestic Cookery* continued to make throughout the 1820s and 1830s,

this payment was still not commensurate with the book's success. While this arguably depicts Murray as a ruthless publisher who should have done more to compensate the author who made a significant profit for his firm, he did nothing that was legally incorrect. Murray's dealings with other female authors also reveal him to be highly generous in terms of copyright payments, suggesting that Murray's behaviour towards Rundell cannot be explained by gender bias alone. Rather, it seems that as Rundell was of no other benefit to Murray, he did not expend as much effort as he did on some other authors in retaining her loyalty to the House.

During the early-nineteenth century, at the time Murray was publishing *Domestic Cookery*, he was also in correspondence with Madame de Staël about the publication of *On Germany*. By 1813, the year in which Murray published *On Germany*, de Staël was at the apotheosis of her fame. De Staël's *Corinne* (1807) had propelled her into the first ranks of European authors. The depiction of the fallen female genius who battles conflicts between private and public, domesticity and artistry, and marriage and ambition, resonated with female authors throughout the nineteenth century and was a bold advocacy by de Staël that women could even *be* geniuses or the intellectual equals of men. The overlap between de Staël and her heroine Corinne also perpetuated interest in both the author and her work, as the line between fact and fiction blurred in a way similar to that which was to later propel Byron to fame with the publication of *Childe Harold* (1812).<sup>62</sup> Public intrigue in de Staël was further augmented by the details of her personal life. From a young age, de

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<sup>62</sup> The overlap between fact and fiction was further suggested by a portrait of de Staël as Corinne by Elizabeth Vigée (1809).

Staël had been a high-profile society figure, with her father being Louis XVI's finance minister and her mother an internationally known salonniere. Her later years were then characterised by scandal as she bore five children by four different fathers, and publically voiced her opposition to Napoleon, leading to her exile from France.

In 1813, de Staël travelled to London, making it to the English 'the year of Madame de Staël' (Gooden 223). Her arrival in London coincided with the publication of *On Germany*, which had been rushed through the press by Murray 'in order to cash in on the popularity of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* and to produce three volumes quickly' for which he 'employed three different printers to print a volume each.'<sup>63</sup> De Staël was paid £1,575 for the copyright, which was on par with what Byron was receiving for the copyrights of his works (see Chapter Two). During her stay in England, de Staël was invited to an array of parties hosted by the luminaries of London society. Throughout her time on the Continent, de Staël had already socialised with a whole host of literary and political figures through her functions at the Parisian salons and her travels through Germany. As de Staël herself had depicted in *Corinne*, English society was somewhat tamer than that which she had experienced in Europe. She was, however, drawn to England for 'its liberty, its enlightenment, its morality, its religion' (Gooden 224).

In spite of England's perceived liberty and enlightenment, the drawing-room culture into which de Staël was entering was subject to different rules of etiquette than those which governed the Parisian salons that she was used to. Journal entries

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<sup>63</sup> This note was inserted into MS.42720 at some time after Murray had recorded the initial publication details of *On Germany* (Folio 137).

from some of the members of Murray's inner circle with whom she dined during her stay in London reveal a cultural clash between reserved British femininity and de Staël's 'womanish excess', as Byron called it (Gooden 224). Byron's comment is characteristic of the remarks made by society members about de Staël in that it takes issue with specific traits which were perceived to contradict accepted gender behaviour. Croker, for example, described de Staël as 'singularly unfeminine, and if in conversation one forgot that she was ugly, one also forget that she was a woman ... During dinner she talked incessantly, but admirably, but several of her apparently spontaneous *mots* were borrowed or prepared' (Jennings 300). Byron also commented on de Staël's conversational style, saying that she was 'too occupied with herself, and often said the most *mal a propos* things, because she was thinking, not of the person she addressed, but of herself.' (Blessington, *Conversations*, 213)

Both Croker's and Byron's observations implicitly associate de Staël's unrestrained language with being unfeminine. The discourse which de Staël was expected to exhibit as a woman in British society, was supposed to be of a far more truncated nature than that which she spoke in the feminised space of the Paris salons. Even in the salons, however, Vincent makes the point that 'like the society poet, the salonniere was expected to don a chameleon-like identity in order [...] to direct her attention to coordinating the egos of those around here [...] this 'hyphenating' function was an important part of the poetess's repertoire, uniting her community of listeners through her disinterested, selfless identity' (129). Croker's and Byron's expectation of this 'hyphenating' function are clear in the comments they make: Croker taking issue with de Staël's 'incessant' talking; and Byron's criticism of de

Staël being ‘too occupied with herself’, thereby not ‘coordinating’ the conversation of the dinner party in either case.

Croker’s comment also implies a level of deception on de Staël’s part. Her ‘borrowed or prepared’ *bon mots* suggests that her linguistic style employs an aspect of performativity, which again differentiates it from the expected ‘hyphenating’, or facilitating, style that was expected from a French salonnière. Within British society, de Staël’s performativity would have been even more controversial than had she been in Paris as the association between women and performance carried sexualised connotations. Furthermore, in the context of Murray’s dinner parties, such recycled discourse would have lowered the high-brow atmosphere which he was beginning to orchestrate during these first couple of years at Albemarle Street.

Although de Staël’s conversational style was criticised by some, she nonetheless was invited to Albemarle Street on a number of occasions and was accepted into the inner circle to some degree as suggested by her name being one of those Murray writes of with enthusiasm as he recalls those who visit Albemarle Street (see Chapter One). It is, therefore, unusual that, given the success of *On Germany*, Murray chose not to publish more of de Staël’s works, especially *Considerations on the Principle Events of the French Revolution*, which was recommended to him by Byron (Wilkes 8). Letters from de Staël’s daughter to Murray in 1816 indicate that she was ‘particularly desirous’ (MS.42560) of reaching a publishing agreement with Murray. She also promised to grant publishing rights to Murray to ensure that his edition ‘may come out some time before the continental one.’ In spite of this, and de Staël’s sanguine description of the book as ‘well



calculated to produce a general sensation in Europe', Murray refused to publish it. A later letter suggests that the reason Murray gave to de Staël was that *On Germany* did not make as much profit as he had expected. The ledger book shows, however, that Murray made £3066-14s from *On Germany*, which was a large sum, even by his standards.

Murray was also reluctant to publish a series of de Staël's works after her death in July 1817. A newly discovered letter from one of de Staël's executors to Murray, shows how Murray had been considering the publication of a twenty volume series which never came to fruition:

I have been authorised by the family of the late Madame de Staël to renew with you the negotiation which had been begun during her lifetime respecting the publication of her work, which has been left complete as far as regards the two first volumes and as far as regards the last, completely written though not corrected. I shall be in London about the 10<sup>th</sup> October, but they are desirous in the mean time that I should mention to you the directions given in her will to publish a complete edition of her own works and her father's, with a biographical memoir of each – and she has ordered the expenses, if any, of such publication to be defrayed by her representatives. The two works will form about twenty volumes octavo each – and there are included in the calculation about two volumes of Madame de Staël's unpublished pieces. It has occurred then that you might find desirable to undertake the whole together.<sup>64</sup>

As Murray never published the twenty volume series it can be assumed that he did not consider it to be a business move which would benefit him. By undertaking such a lengthy series, and a posthumous one at that, the association between Murray and de Staël would have become very closely intertwined, with him acting as the 'official' publisher of her life's works. Unfortunately no letter from Murray can be

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<sup>64</sup> I would like to thank David McClay of the National Library of Scotland for bringing this letter to my attention. This letter was recently acquired by the National Library of Scotland, so was not catalogued at the time of writing this.

found to explain his reasoning for deciding not to publish the series after his earlier consideration of it. As Murray later went on to publish multi-volume series of Byron's and Crabbe's works it can be assumed that this was a publishing strategy he reserved for only his most established names.

Although de Staël's behaviour was sometimes considered to be controversial by the standards of British society, it is evident that Murray remunerated her fairly and invited her into his coveted inner circle, although de Staël's invitation seems to have been subject to closer scrutiny than if it had been granted to a male author. In spite of some of the objections raised by Byron and Croker, Murray continued to support the work of female authors who were the subject of mixed public opinion. In 1836, Murray published Caroline Norton's *A Voice from the Factories*. At this time, Norton was embroiled in what was dubbed the 'Melbourne scandal' following the separation from her husband.<sup>65</sup> Although she was the subject of much public criticism and negative comment in the papers (Chedzoy, 114), Murray chose to publish *A Voice from the Factories*, which was the first poem by Norton that he published in spite of previously having being offered 'The Undying One' and 'The Maiden's Dream':

When my poem 'The Undying One' was first written, it was offered to you with a very over-rated idea of what it was worth, in many respects [...]. I have now another, a shorter poem by me called 'The Maiden's Dream'. I have taken pains with it, and have avoided, as far as I could, all the faults imputed

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<sup>65</sup> This refers to the public attention which the liaison between Norton and Lord Melbourne (William Lamb 1779-1884) received during the early-1830s. It is unknown whether there was ever any romantic attachment between Norton and Lord Melbourne, or whether the negative publicity was conjured by Norton's husband, who is thought to have been blackmailing Lord Melbourne at this time for financial gain (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography).

to my first attempt. My wish is to print it with fugitive pieces, in one vol., and sell the M.S for £100; but I would willingly give the manuscript without the last mentioned condition if you would undertake the publication. I saw that you had printed Lady Emmeline Wortley's poems: for many years you have been encourager and supporter of poetical talent; and as I am still as eager (though I hope more humble than when I set out), I hope you do not mean to make me the exception to your rule. (August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1834, MS. 42507)

Norton's offer to forgo any payment for the privilege of having Murray publish 'The Maiden's Dream' was a generous offer given her financial difficulties, and says much about how highly she revered Murray as a publisher. The reference to Lady Wortley is also worthy of note as it alludes to the way in which Norton tried to cultivate her public image through the social networks with which she associated. As Linda Shires notes, Norton 'assiduously court[ed] literary attention' by hosting regular gatherings to which figures such as Samuel Rogers, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Benjamin D'Israeli and Thomas Moore attended. Norton also socialised with a female crowd, composed of women such as Mary Shelley, Lady Blessington, L.E.L., and Lady Morgan, who, according to Shires, shared 'questionable and personal reputations'.<sup>66</sup>

Norton's determination to have Murray publish her work is further suggested by a later letter:

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<sup>66</sup> The controversial company which Norton sometimes kept may have led her to become overly concerned about other society members' opinion of her as the following letter suggests. Norton to JM, October 1836: 'I trust dining with Adam Blair [Lockhart] did not make you "*catch* a dislike to me," as poor Douglas Kinnaird once told me *he* did, after he had dined with some "friends of his who were not friends of mine." He was very cross, and when I tried to coax him out of it, he said: "the fact is I caught cold last night where I dined; there was such a draft of air; and I also caught a dislike to *you*, there was so much abuse and fault-finding.'"

There is, I believe, no question but that I might publish my brief effort perhaps in one sense more advantageously among the set of publishers who do not even ask to *see* a book, but pay you for it because it is yours; but it is a wish - a vanity of mine - to be published by you. You know it is, for this is the third time I have endeavoured to appear under your auspices [...]. You never gave any advice more faithfully followed than that which you offered when I was ambitious you should publish my Undying One, viz: not to attempt strained and unnatural subjects. My *Voice from the Factories* is in the style you bid me adhere to; and I will still hope that you will take me under your charge. (October 7<sup>th</sup> 1836, MS. 42507)

It is evident from this letter that Norton not only followed Murray's advice, but that she was attempting to take her work in a new direction. Kieran Dolin's work on the 'transfigurations' of Norton highlights the numerous transformations Norton's public persona underwent throughout her life. Dolin focuses in particular on how the many visual representations which were created of Norton contributed to her transformation 'from society lady to writer and from scandalous woman to representation of Justice' (504). Indeed, the artwork which accompanied Norton's career heightened the sense of theatricality which defined her, as summarised by Lady Elizabeth Eastlake: 'She is a perpetual actress, consummately studying and playing her part, and always the attempt to fascinate - she cares not whom' (Chedzoy 264). Similar to de Staël's role as a salonniere, a certain level of performativity was expected from Norton due to the class to which she belonged, which was characterised by parties and society balls. As Dolin notes, however, Norton's theatricality threatened to exceed the acceptable bounds of female performativity, implied by Eastlake's final clause, 'she cares not whom.'<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> In *Private Theatricals*, Nina Auerbach discusses the relationship between performativity and (female) subjectivity, suggesting that it represented 'deceitful mobility. It connoted not only lies, but a fluidity of character that decomposes the uniform integrity of the self' (4).

The connotations which accompanied such meretricious displays by women of the upper class were, in Norton's case, further amplified throughout the Melbourne scandal. As a part of her transfiguration from 'scandalous woman to representation of Justice' it seems, from the above letters, that Norton believed Murray to be the best publisher to aid her. In spite of the controversy that surrounded Norton in 1836, Murray did not suggest that she publish *A Voice from the Factories* anonymously. On the contrary, he wrote to her in October 1836 to say 'I am sincerely anxious to serve you but I cannot disguise my apprehension that an anonymous poem has no very great chance of being a profitable one' (MS.41909). In spite of Murray's letter, *A Voice from the Factories* was published anonymously with a print run of 250 copies (MS.42727). It is unusual, given Norton's numerous attempts to have Murray publish her work, that she did not capitalise upon the opportunity of having her name associated with his in print. A further letter from Norton to Murray suggests that having *A Voice from the Factories* published under his auspices was not the endgame for Norton, but what she hoped would be the beginning of a career with the House:

I am fond of the poem, and if you would allow me to reprint it, you would do me a great service; for I am in many troubles and difficulties from which I look to my pen to extricate me, as the soldier trusts his sword to cut his way through ... I wish to make my volume as complete as possible, hoping under your guidance hence-forward to forsake Poetry for Prose. You know you hinted to me that the door of your *Review* would open to me if I thought I could write for it. (MS.42507)

A later letter from Norton to Murray, which included a copy of her Letter to the Lord Chancellor on the subject of the Infant Custody Bill, further suggests Norton's ambition to contribute to the *Quarterly Review*:

It is so easy to crush a woman, especially one whose reputation has been already slandered, that I do not think his triumph is very great, in having created a prejudice by inventing a gross falsehood; attributing to me that which I never wrote, and then abusing me in very foul and gross language as the author [...]. Dear Sir, I do not suppose this "Letter" will be of sufficient consequence to be reviewed in the *Quarterly*, but the subject of the letter will perhaps be noticed, as it is one of the questions to be mooted this session. I entreat of you, if such will be the case, to use your influence to prevent my name (which has grown to be only the watchword of insult and cruel abuse) from being any more alluded to.

The beginning of this letter refers to the bad press Norton received as a result of the Melbourne Scandal and divorce from her husband in 1836. Norton was never granted her wish to contribute to the *Quarterly Review*, but in September 1840 she became the subject of one of its articles, 'Modern English Poetesses'. Although the tone of the article was at times characterised by misogynistic humour, Norton emerged from the article in a favourable light: 'We have a very high opinion of Mrs Norton's genius as a poet. We think that what she has achieved places her in a very conspicuous position in the literature of our modern day [...]. Her reputation for talent is established.'<sup>68</sup>

### **Mary Somerville**

As suggested by his relations with de Staël and Norton, the authors who came from upper class backgrounds were generally granted greater access to Albemarle Street

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<sup>68</sup> In 'Modern English Poetesses', Lady Wortley was the subject of such humour. In a letter to Murray, Norton defended her: 'She is the truest, simplest woman that ever was bit by romance; but you are an infidel, and don't believe in women, because your Byron wrote some clever lines against the sex – yet how was so profligate a man to know good women? Not that I defend my lady's high-flown language and "starry sublimities" at all times; but she is so gentle and earnest and real, that I felt a little unhappy when I read the review. Poisoned daggers are a joke to be laughed at in the *Quarterly*!'

and Murray's inner circle than an author like Rundell. In spite of de Staël's and Norton's connections, however, there is still an underlying sense that their admission was curtailed by behaviour which was viewed as unfeminine. As seen, while Murray appeared to be sympathetic to the scandal that surrounded de Staël and Norton, his hospitality only extended so far as neither author became too firmly associated with the House. If we compare de Staël with Byron, both of whom were embroiled in public scandals at certain points, but could also generate high sales profits, Murray was more willing to evict de Staël from his inner circle than Byron, in spite of her greater celebrity during the early days at Albemarle Street.

The most prevailing sign that an author had been inculcated into the exclusive space of Albemarle Street was if they became the subject of one of the commissioned portraits which adorned the drawing room walls, as discussed in Chapter One. Of all the female authors who Murray published only one, Mary Somerville, received such an accolade. The rest of this chapter will explore the publishing relationship between Murray and Somerville to attempt to uncover why she was the only female author to have been granted this apparent stamp of approval by the Albemarle Street circle. In so doing, it will examine to what extent this invitation extended, how such official recognition, not only from Murray but also other legitimising institutions, helped to promote Somerville as a respected scientist and author, and how Murray used Somerville's gender to 'popularise' her works and thereby broaden their appeal. It will be suggested that the amalgamation of respectable science and popular appeal that Somerville embodied was used as a way to attract the market which the decline of poetry had left wanting, with Somerville's unique style of scientific writing

appealing to both a female readership and highly revered male scientists, thereby helping to establish science as the new genre of ‘cultural pre-eminence’ for the House, while forging a position in the female readership market which the annuals were dominating.

Much of Somerville’s early success stemmed from the networks of literary and scientific men with whom she associated during the beginning of her career. In Edinburgh, Somerville’s friends included John Playfair, David Brewster, James Gregory and Walter Scott. During this time Somerville was published five times in the *New Series of the Mathematical Repository*, a respectable mathematical periodical.<sup>69</sup> In 1819 the Somervilles moved to Hanover Square in London. Much like Murray’s move to Albemarle Street, the Somervilles’ move placed them amidst London’s literary and scientific centre, with their house being a short walk from the Royal Institution and the publishing district which Murray inhabited. The Somervilles’ central location did much to expand their social circle, as did the parties they hosted, where they became ‘intimately acquainted with every person of note both Scientific and Literary in London’ (Somerville Collection, Dep.c.360). Their acceptance into London society was aided by their former Scottish connections and they quickly became acquainted with ‘many of the leading literary men, artists, politicians, medical men, lawyers, bankers, businessmen, manufacturers and engineers. Thomas Campbell, Henry Hallam, John Turner, Lord Melbourne, Dr

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<sup>69</sup> ‘Prize Question 310’ in Thomas Leybourn, *New Series of the Mathematical Repository* (London: W. Glendinning, 1811), ‘Prize Question 311’, *Ibid.*, ‘Question 377’, *Ibid.*, ‘Question 381’, *Ibid.*, ‘Question 381’, *Ibid.*, ‘Question 382’, *Ibid.* James Secord in *The Collected Works of Mary Somerville* provides a complete bibliography of Somerville’s early publications.



Henry Holland, John Shaw Lefevre, the Barclay family, George Hibbet, George Stephenson and the Brunels were just a few of these' (Watts, 170). In time, the Somerville's network was to read like, as Katherine Neely suggests, 'a veritable "who's who" of the intellectual world: Playfair, Nasmyth, Blair, Wallace, Wollaston, Young, Kater, Buckland, South, Brougham, Whewell, Herschell, Sedgwick, Babbage, Arago, Macaulay, Scott, Macinstosh, Biot, Napier, Byron, Laplace, de Candolle, Prevost, Bouvard, Poisson, de la Rive, Humboldt, Cuvier, Gay-Lussac, Pentland, Marcet, Quetelet, Schlegel, Edgeworth, Lafayette – the list goes on' (85). The length of this list was augmented by the Somervilles' residence in Europe, where she also 'met and stayed at the homes of the most eminent scientist who corresponded with her when she was elsewhere' (Watts, 170).<sup>70</sup>

The Somervilles' extensive social circle was symptomatic of what Claire Brock refers to as the 'Great Amateur' tradition which pervaded early scientific communities (263). In the absence of publically structured and governed scientific establishments during science's conception in the early nineteenth century, interested parties instead 'thrived on sociable interaction where scientific ideas were exchanged through a lively epistolary network, as well as through the circulation of books and manuscripts and conversationally during parties or soirees' (Brock 263). To begin

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<sup>70</sup> By looking at the correspondence between Somerville and some of these scientific figures in the Somerville Collection I have been able to compile an itinerary of the places the Somervilles visited in Europe: Venice – July 1843 – August 1843, Palazzo Lepac Vea de Londattio – October 1843, Rome – January 1844 – Dec 1845, Collingwood – January 1848, Rose Bank – July 1848, Cola Peschiera – October 1849, Turin – Decemebr 1849, Calcavanga near Asti – October 1850, Genoa – Dec 1850 – Dec 1852, Florence – Dec 1854 – Dec 1859, La Spizia, August 1860, Florence – March 1861, Shelzia – September 1861, Turin – December 1861, Shezea – November 1862, Spizia – Feb 1863, Genoa – Sep 1864, Spizia – Sep 1864 – Sep 1865.

with, these social interactions were open to both men and women. As the discipline of science had not been properly defined, let alone its branches such as physics, chemistry and biology, a classical university education was not a pre-requisite for admission into these social gatherings. As such, both men and women were often self-educated in their fields, putting them on an equal footing. Another area of overlap to which 'science' was prone during its early days was in the practitioners that it attracted. As science was not a clearly defined discipline it was predominately practiced by literary figures who had an interest in the subject, such as George Henry Lewes. Social gatherings were, therefore, often populated by men of letters and science who were happy to converse on both areas. One such party is described by Charles Lyell in his *Journals* during April 1820:

I chaperoned Mrs Somerville to Sir George Phillips's on Saturday evening, after a dinner at Dr. Somerville's. Sir G., who is one of the new Baronets, is an M.P., as is his son. A room full of Sir J. Reynolds's and other good pictures, and a famous living gallery of literary portraits. The party was – Sir Walter Scott, Cooper (the American novelist), Mrs Marcet and her daughter, Sir J. Mackintosh, Rogers the poet, Dumont the Genevese jurisconsult, 'Conversation' Sharp, Lady Davy, Spring Rice, M.P [Lord Monteagle], Dr Wollaston, Newton the American artist, Mr and Mrs Lockhart, Scott's son and unmarried daughter, &c. Lady Davy, to whom Mrs Somerville introduced me, was talking well of Manzoni's new celebrated novel, 'I promessi sposi,' [The Betrothed] so I got her afterwards on Dante' (180).

Through this extensive network Somerville started to forge a respectable reputation for herself in London society, which was also based upon the success she had achieved as a published mathematician in Edinburgh. In 1827, Somerville attracted the attention of Lord Brougham who was keen to have her translate Laplace's *Mechanique Celeste* for his Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge series:

The kind of thing wanted is such a description of that divine work as will both explain to the unlearned the sort of thing that it is – the plan, the vast merit, the wonderful truths unfolded or methodized – and the calculus by which all this is accomplished, and will also give a somewhat deeper insight to the uninitiated. Two treatises would do this. No one without trying can conceive how far we may carry ignorant readers into an understanding of the depths of science, and our treatises have about 100 to 800 pages of space each, so that one might give the popular view, and another the analytical abstracts and illustrations. In England there are not now twenty people who know this great work, except by name; and not a hundred who know it even by name. My firm belief is that Mrs Somerville could add two ciphers to each of those figures. (Somerville Collection, Dep.c.370)

As can be gleaned from this letter, the criterion for SDUK publications was accessibility, economy of space, and popular appeal. Somerville, however, had some reservations about her ability to transform such a complex work into a popular account for the general reader at whom the series was aimed:

Lord Brougham, you must be aware that the work in question can never be popularised, since the student must at least know something of the differential and integral calculi [...] Besides Laplace never gives diagrams or figures, because they are not necessary to persons versed in the calculus, but they would be indispensable in a work such as you wish me to write. (*Recollections*, 133)

Somerville was correct in her estimation of her work's success in the SDUK series. In November 1830, Brougham deemed the manuscript unsuitable for the six-penny series due to its length. By this time, Charles Babbage and William Herschel had read copies of the manuscript and considered it to be of a far superior quality than either John Pond's or John Toplis's attempts to bring Laplace into English translation (Patterson, 72), and to therefore truncate the work merely to suit the requirements of the SDUK would be to do the work, and the author, a disservice. Herschel wrote to Somerville saying:

I have read your manuscript with the greatest pleasure, and will not hesitate to add, (because I'm sure you will believe it sincere) with the highest admiration. Go on thus and you will leave a memorial of no common kind to posterity; and, what you will value far more than fame, you will have accomplished a most useful work. (*Recollections*, 133)

After Brougham declined Somerville's manuscript, William Somerville, who had mediated most of the correspondence between his wife and Brougham, now contacted his acquaintance John Murray with the intention of having *The Mechanism of the Heavens* published by him. A letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1830 from Murray to William Somerville communicates Mary's success:

Mr Herschell's opinion of the excellence of Mrs Somerville's MSS is a better one than I could have obtained and I am perfectly satisfied with it – but I can find no one who can give me data upon which I can calculate the demand for such a work – no publisher can assist me in this – as however Mr Brougham has said that he can ensure the sale of 1,500 copies (which I can not refrain from doubting) I will if you please print one edition, consisting of 1,500 copies at my own cost and risqué and in the case of their selling I will give the author two thirds of the profits – and after the sales of these 1,500 copies her copyright shall be entirely the sole property of the author – to dispose in any way hereafter that may appear best for her advantage (Dep.c.370).

The ledger book from 1831, however, shows that only 750 copies were published as a first edition. After 11 copies were sent to Stationer's Hall, 6 to reviews, and 60 to fulfil the author's order, 673 copies were sold as follows:

73 at coffee house sales – 25 at 18/- = £63-18s

129 at 20/- = £124

471 various at 20/11 = £473-15-3d

Total = £661-13-3d (MS.42725).

Thus, by March 1833, after the deduction of production costs (£518-15-9) there was a balance profit of £142-17-6d. The £284-12s given to William Clowes, and the £27-9s spent on wood engraving by Lee suggest that Murray invested in the presentation

of the book, a marked difference from Brougham's intended six penny edition.<sup>71</sup> *Mechanism of the Heavens* was sold for £1 10s, which was cheaper than Murray's expensive quarto publications, but was still enough to retain its exclusivity. A review in *The Athenaeum* commented on the 'splendid typography' and the 'patrician name of the bibliopole' who had published it, which were obvious smears against Murray and the book's price, which prohibited members of the middle classes from purchasing it (Brock 261). The *Quarterly Review* article on *Mechanism* was also keen to emphasise Somerville's scientific credentials, informing the reader that 'Mrs Somerville is already advantageously known to the philosophical world by her experiments' (547). The reviewer was also equally desirous to foreground Somerville's attributes which were free of 'female vanity' and nobly executed 'in the pursuit of her object, and in the natural and commendable wish to embody her acquired knowledge in an useful and instructive form for others, she seems entirely to have lost sight of herself [...] beyond the name in the title page, nothing throughout the work introduced [sic] to remind us of its coming from a female hand' (548). Due to its price and promotion in the *Quarterly* it seems that *Mechanism* was very much intended to announce Somerville as a serious scientist who would appeal to the well-educated classes.

The separation of Somerville from her gender in the *Quarterly* article, as implied by the remark that there was nothing 'to remind us of its coming from a

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<sup>71</sup> As Murray tended to group all of the separate costs for composition, corrections, stereotyping, etc. under 'printing' it is difficult to tell in some cases how much was spent on producing the book, and how much was spent on corrections. In this case, however, as Somerville had already worked on the draft for three years with the aid of advisers, it can be assumed that the majority of this 'printing' figure was for production expenses.

female hand', however, was not a strategy which lasted long. The publication of her next book, *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences* (1834), instead demonstrates a foregrounding of her gender, and, indeed, a desire that it should appeal to the female reader. Not only was the book dedicated to Queen Adelaide, but the preface also singled out a female audience: 'If I have succeeded in my endeavour to make the laws by which the material world is governed more familiar to my countrywomen, I shall have the gratification of thinking, that the gracious permission to dedicate my book to your majesty has not been misplaced.' Somerville's reference to her 'countrywomen' clearly constructs the female reader as the ideal audience for her work. Rather than desexing Somerville, the review in the *Quarterly* this time declared that 'there is a sex in minds' (65). This declaration was a bold admission that women could indeed be intellectuals, albeit only if they exhibited particular 'female' characteristics such as 'clearness of perception', accompanied by the underhand comment 'as far as it goes' (65). Other attributes included 'unobtrusive simplicity' (65) and 'modesty' (67). Further reviews of *On the Connexion* also emphasised the femaleness of the work. *The Athenaeum* declared that it was 'at the same time a fit companion for the philosopher in his study, and for the literary lady in her boudoir: both may read it with pleasure, both may consult it with profit.' A further sign that *On the Connexion* was being marketed towards women was its Christmas publication date, which put it in competition with the annuals market.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> A letter from James Forbes to William Somerville in August 1833 says that, 'When in Paris, Mrs Somerville mentioned to me that, though her little volume was almost ready, it would not be out until Christmas' (Dep.c.369, Somerville Collection).

In 1834, the year in which *On the Connexion* was published, Murray commissioned Thomas Phillips to paint a portrait of Somerville for his drawing room gallery. In keeping with the feminisation of Somerville's work at this time, Phillips wrote to Murray in March 1834 to say of the portrait that 'I have the pleasure to find every lady approving of it and should like to have Mrs Murray's and the young ladies' opinion' (MS.40953). Phillip's request to ascertain the ladies' opinion of his portrait suggests that he and Murray were constructing Somerville's image so that it would appeal to female readers. Furthermore, it also suggests that both men were anxious for the female visitors at Murray's to feel included in the surroundings of the drawing room. The portrait itself was described as 'a masterpiece' by *The Athenaeum* and was exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1834 (Patterson, 141). It is poignant that the portrait was displayed at the Royal Academy as this conferred upon its subject a legitimising seal of prestige and elitism. This very much augmented the legitimisation of her status which she had received from her social network. As a writer for the *Pall Mall Gazette* suggested in her obituary in February 1874, 'Somerville had been the only woman of the age to achieve a high reputation in mathematics. People took her reputation "upon trust from men of science."' Further markers of institutional support also came from the bust of Somerville which was commissioned by a number of literary and scientific men to be displayed in the meeting room of the Royal Society (Dep.c.375).<sup>73</sup> In February 1835, Somerville was

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<sup>73</sup> A list of subscribers to the bust remains in the Somerville Archive. Murray donated £5, which was the join third highest donation. Augustus Frederick donated £21, and David Gilbert donated £20. The other names on the list were: Augustus Frederick, Davies Gilbert, J.W. Lubbock, J.G. Children, John Edward Gray, W.D. Conebear, Marshall Hall, Hudson Gurney, Francis Bailey, Dr Buckland, Baden Powell, Dr Dauberry, Dr Creswell, Richard Murchison, Josh Bosworth, Edward Hawkins, N.A. Vigours, G. Dolland, Isaac Goldsmid, Alex Johnston, J. Guillemard, William Smith, Charles Pass

then elected to be an honorary member of the Royal Astronomical Society, making her and Caroline Herschel the only two women to be so recognised (Dep.c.375).

With these foundations of respectability which had been built through the reception of *Mechanism of the Heavens*, the portrait, the bust, and the honorary membership, Somerville was presented as an author worthy of Murray's auspices. As the sales for *Mechanism of the Heavens* had shown, however, although Somerville was revered, her technical work did not generate high sales. As Brock notes, *Mechanism of the Heavens* 'had so far exceeded the grasp of its intended artisan audience that it had earned the dubious accolade of impenetrability and was subsequently adopted as a university textbook for only the brightest students (259). Thus, alongside the noticeable feminisation of *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences* there is also a clear attempt on Murray's part to not only broaden the book's appeal to include both genders, but, also, to the 'mass of readers' as the *Quarterly Review* called this demographic in its review of the book (50). In April 1833, the use of the word 'popular' appears for the first time in the correspondence between Murray and Somerville. In the following letter it appears that Somerville is responding to a request by Murray to make her next work, *On the Connexion*, more accessible to a wider readership:

When I consider the very unpromising nature of my work and the small probability there was of success, I am more and more sensible of what I owe to your kindness and liberality, and beg that you will accept of my sincere

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Burney, Charles Koing, Lt. Col. Colby, Sir George Stanton, Haseldine Pepys, Southey, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Sir Charles Wetherwell, Dr Brewster, Ralph Watson, Lord Landsdowne, Babbage, Lyell, Faraday, Robert Ferguson, J.W.Blake, Charles Bell, Sir John Herschel, the Duke of Somerset, Alex Wollaston, Lt. Col. Sykes and John David Gilbert (Dep.c.375).



thanks for all you have done in this affair. I am quite surprised at the number of copies that have been sold and I must add very much pleased [...]. I am happy to find you have ventured on my new attempt, and trust it will be more popular, I have done all I can to make it so and shall be glad of any advice on the subject. (MS.41131, Folio 75)

In a bid to make *On the Connexion* more saleable, Murray dropped the price from £1 10s, the price of *Mechanism of the Heavens*, down to 7s 6d. For Somerville, one of her primary regrets which she noted when writing her autobiography in 1872 was that she had not dedicated herself to writing purely mathematical works, thereby achieving ingenuity over popularity: ‘although I had recorded in a clear point of view some of the most refined and difficult analytical processes and astronomical discoveries, I was conscious that I had made no discovery myself, that I had no originality’ (*Recollections* 168). Although Murray supported Somerville as an author, as the above letter suggests, wherein she thanks him for his ‘kindness and liberality’, there is a feeling that, had it not been for Murray’s pressure upon her to popularise her work, she may have achieved this ambition. The reality of the situation was, however, that the Somervilles were also short of income at this time, as Brock has noted (266). The basic economic need to secure an income that would sustain the family’s lifestyle may have been a contributing factor in Somerville’s agreement to refashion her writing at this time.

The attempt to popularise Somerville’s work during the mid-1830s was part of a larger trend within the industry. As Bernard Lightman notes: ‘Publications produced under the designation “popular science” first appeared in the 1820s and 1830s, at the same time that St Clair detects the take-off point in British reading [...] The new publications of the 1820s and 1830s were aimed at audiences defined by the

new social and intellectual divisions of the industrial age' (18). Murray's reduction in the price of *On the Connexion* coupled with Somerville's revised writing style had the desired effect as the sales figures for the book show:

| Edition | Date       | Price  | Printed |
|---------|------------|--------|---------|
| 1       | Feb 1834   | 7s 6d  | 2000    |
| 2       | 1835       | 10s 6d | 3000    |
| 3       | April 1836 | 10s 6d | 2000    |
| 4       | Nov 1837   | 10s 6d | 2000    |
| 5       | Feb 1840   | 10s 6d | 750     |
| 6       | Aug 1842   | 10s 6d | 750     |
| 7       | April 1846 | 10s 6d | 2000    |
| 8       | April 1849 | 10s 6d | 2000    |
| 9       | Dec 1858   | 9s     | 2000    |
| 10      | April 1877 | 9s     | 2000    |

The immediate economic benefit to the House in the 1830s is clear from the first four entries, which show that 9,000 copies of *On the Connexion* were printed in total during this decade. The longevity of the book's appeal is also evidenced by the number of editions that it ran into and the consistently high print runs, excluding the years 1840 and 1842.

Although Somerville has been labelled as a 'populariser' of science, this is a contentious term. As Brock notes: 'Somerville was simultaneously too popular and not popular enough in the 1830s; her writings sold in the hundreds and later

thousands, yet were considered by some to be unreadable' (260). As a marketing technique, however, the promotion of Somerville as a 'populariser' of science was one which worked at the time, as the sales of her works suggest. One of the aspects which made her writing so enjoyable, even if not understood for its mathematical and scientific principles, was the accessible, sometimes poetical, style in which it was written. As stated in *Recollections*, Somerville was herself 'passionately fond of poetry, her especial favourites being Shakespeare and Dante' (5). Somerville's passion for poetry, as the following letter from Maria Edgeworth in May 1832 suggests, written in response to her reading of Somerville's *Mechanism of the Heavens*, spilled over into her science writing:

I am afraid that if you had been aware how ignorant I was you would not have sent me this dissertation, because you would have felt that you were throwing away much that I could not understand, and that could be better bestowed on scientific friends capable of judging of what they admire. I can only assure you that you have given me a great deal of pleasure; that you have enlarged my conception of the sublimity of the universe, beyond any ideas I had ever before been enabled to form. The great simplicity of your manner of writing, I may say of your *mind*, which appears in your writing, particularly suits the scientific sublime – which would be destroyed by what is commonly called fine writing. You trust sufficiently to the natural interest of your subject, to the importance of the facts, the beauty of the whole, and the adaptation of the means to an end, in every part an immense whole [...]

This reliance upon your reader's feeling with you, was to me very gratifying I forgot to mention page 50 – a passage on Mepropagation of sound – It is a beautiful sentence – as well as a sublime intro : "so not at a very small height above the surface" (Somerville Collection, Dep.c.371).

What is striking about this letter, apart from Edgeworth's three references to Somerville and the sublime, is that Somerville sent her work to Edgeworth at all. As Edgeworth highlights, Somerville had a number of 'scientific friends' who would have readily critiqued it and, most likely, offered much more scientifically-informed advice than Edgeworth too. The question of why Somerville wanted her literary

friend to read *Mechanism of the Heavens* remains unanswered, until we turn to Somerville's notebooks.

As Kathryn Neeley has discovered, Somerville's notebooks are full of references to other publications, such as 'Faraday on the Electric Telegraph' and 'E. J. Cooper on the Perihelion and Nodes of the Planets'. Most relevant here are the multiple quotations from Byron, one 'concerning human insignificance in the grand scheme of nature', and a page of quotations taken from *Cain* (1805). The Byron quotations suggest a self-fashioning of her scientific writing through the use of poetry on Somerville's part, which goes some way in explaining why she sent Edgeworth *Mechanism of the Heavens*. While Edgeworth feared her inability and 'ignorance' to understand it, it seems that Somerville did not. Indeed, Somerville's desire to gauge her work's accessibility by those not versed in science suggests that she was more conscious than thus far credited in constructing a multi-disciplinary audience for her work.

It seems that, rather than be renowned for an original mathematical or scientific thesis, Somerville was instead known for her original writing style which fused science with an accessible, almost poetic, style. Writing on the difference between artistic and scientific genius, Joanthan Topham notes that 'unlike the literary author, any scientific author wishing to exhibit genius had to do so through originality of ideas (the discovery of truth), rather than originality of form (the creation of beauty)' (38). In Somerville's case, although a scientist first and foremost, she achieved originality of form rather than the discovery of truth. When considering this in the context of the increasing commodification of the literary

marketplace through such mediums as the annuals, Somerville's writing evoked the 'sublime' of the lost Romantic poets at a time when originality, or 'creatio' was under threat from the burgeoning middle class and the technological changes which supplied their cheapened literature. For example, in *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences* Somerville wrote, 'The heavens afford the most sublime subject of study which can be derived from science' (3), and when describing how to calculate distances between stars and planets Somerville exclaims, 'as sublime as the idea is' (65). In terms of the image which Murray was trying to preserve during this decade, as discussed in Chapter One and Two, Somerville's writing style embodied the respectability of science while evoking the sublimity of Romantic verse through the grandeur of the landscapes and concepts which she was describing.

The Romantic elements of Somerville's writing were, however, tamed by the British female values which she was also seen to impart. For, as Dorothy Mermin notes, 'Victorian science repeated in a darker key the Romantic conception of women as part of the mysterious, maternal nature whose sons interpret her: in Somerville's terms, they are of the earth, earthy' (Mermin 133). Although Somerville believed that women could have no genius, as they were of the earth rather than 'that spark from heaven' (*Recollections*), her writing, nonetheless, exhibited the celestial elements (one of her titles being *Mechanism of the Heavens* after all) that were traditionally associated with the male genius. By becoming an 'interpreter' of nature herself, Somerville thereby placed herself in the masculine position which the male poet characteristically occupied. In spite of this, two letters sent by a member of the Royal Society to Somerville in relation to the commissioning of the bust in the

members hall reveal the public's approval of her. In December 1831, John Children of the Royal Society wrote to Somerville:

I have great pleasure in obeying the command of His Royal Highness<sup>74</sup> the President, to inform you that he had the gratification of communicating your valuable present to the Royal Society – in person – and that His Royal Highness equally appreciates the power and admires the direction of those splendid talents, which have led to the production of a work that has exalted the scientific character of British Ladies to the level of those virtues which form at once the glory and safeguard of our country (Dep.c.375).

A further letter by Children, written in February 1832, states:

His Royal Highness will feel highly gratified in having his name at the head of the list of subscribers who will honour science, then country and themselves in paying this proud tribute to the power of the female mind – and at the same time establish an imperishable record of the perfect compatibility of the most exemplary discharge of the softer duties of domestic life with the deepest researches in mathematical philosophy (Dep.c.375).

As both letters reveal, much of Somerville's appeal came from her ability to balance scientific endeavour with the 'softer duties of domestic life'. Indeed, even in *Recollections*, published in 1873, this is reinforced. One of the ways in which Somerville's usurpation of the male Romantic role was tempered was by marketing her interpretative powers as educational. In the review of *On the Connexion* in the *Quarterly*, Somerville is depicted as a unifying force able to prevent the 'great empire falling to pieces' (59), the great empire being the 'endless' subdivisions of science. Her ability to educate 'the wider public' (58) is thus presented as averting battle caused by public confusion which science would otherwise engender if it was not for Somerville's ability to clarify the 'confusion of ideas' (58) which defined the

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<sup>74</sup> 'His Royal Highness' refers to HRH The Duke of Sussex. D.G.C. Allan, 'Towards 2004: The Society's History – a Chronological Approach.' 62.

sciences. The association between education and empire was not only evident in this *Quarterly Review* article, but was further suggested by the imprint of the torch of knowledge which appeared on the cover of her books. The branding of Somerville as the ‘ornament of England’ (59) in this article thereby encapsulated her public role as educator for the nation. The word ‘ornament’ is highly fitting as it suggests the limitation that was imposed upon Somerville through the image of passive femininity which it invokes – an ornament being a decorative piece to be looked at, usually by members of the middle and upper classes. It is clear that this marketing strategy continued to be successful as demonstrated by the print runs of Somerville’s following works:

*Physical Geography:*

| Edition | Date       | Price | Printed            |
|---------|------------|-------|--------------------|
| 1       | April 1848 | 12s   | 2000               |
| 2       | June 1849  | 12s   | 3000               |
| 3       | April 1851 | 12s   | 2500               |
| 4       | Feb 1858   | 9s    | 2500               |
| 5       | Nov 1862   | 9s    | 2000               |
| 6       | May 1870   | 9s    | 2000               |
| 7       | April 1877 | 9s    | 2000               |
| Total:  |            |       | 16,000 (Dep.c.373) |

*On Molecular and Microscopic Science:*

| Edition | Date     | Price | Printed          |
|---------|----------|-------|------------------|
| 1       | Jan 1869 | 21s   | 1500 (Dep.c.373) |

*Personal Recollections:*

| Edition | Date     | Price | Printed          |
|---------|----------|-------|------------------|
| 1       | Dec 1873 | 12s   | 2000             |
|         | Feb 1874 | 12s   | 1000 (Dep.c.373) |

Throughout her lengthy publishing career, it is clear that both Murray II and Murray III held Somerville in high regard. When communicating the profit owed to Somerville for *Mechanism of the Heavens*, Murray was generous in passing the whole profit of the book (£142-17-6d) onto Somerville in light of its small sales. The letter also communicates that had Murray ventured to print more than 750 copies, as he had originally intended and written in the letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1830, ‘there would have been no profit at all’ (Dep.c.373). The reasoning that Murray gave Somerville for granting all profit to her was that he was ‘overpaid by the honour of being the publisher of the work of so extraordinary a person.’

During the late-1830s it is apparent that Murray III started to take over proceedings concerning Somerville from his father. A letter dated 16<sup>th</sup> September 1835 from Somerville to her son, Woronzow, recalls how she ‘had a very agreeable visit of John Murray Jnr. yesterday. His father and mother are still on the Rhine where they remain a month longer.’ Like his father, Murray III continued to demonstrate the same financial kindness towards Somerville. The arrangement of



two-thirds profit to the author which had existed between Murray II and Somerville, remained until her death in 1872. When it came to the publication of Somerville's last scientific work, *On Molecular and Microscopic Science* (1869), which she wrote during her late-eighties, Murray once again demonstrated his financial generosity.<sup>75</sup> Due to Somerville's failing eyesight, *On Molecular and Microscopic Science* contained a catalogue of serious errors:

It is very painful for me to write to you this intelligence as I know how great labour and how long time the work has cost you but I feel that your great and revered scientific reputation is at stake – it would be a calamity for you to publish anything which would compromise it and therefore becomes my duty to inform you that in the opinion of this gentleman [a scientist whom Murray had employed to read Somerville's manuscript], no partial revision or correction of the parts would suffice (Dep.c.373).

As a result, Murray lost approximately £200 for failing to send the manuscript to the printers as arranged:

I can assure you I was most unwilling to propose to you the stoppage of your work and it pained me greatly to write to that effect. You and your daughters may perhaps suppose that I had some selfish motive for doing this. My correct assurances to the contrary are but supported by facts. If the book is

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<sup>75</sup> Murray's financial support of Mary Somerville is also apparent in the support of her pension, which she was awarded in 1835. Claire Brock in 'The Public Worth of Mary Somerville' writes about the criticism Somerville received over the award of her pension by those who did not feel that her work contributed 'anything to the stock of human knowledge or enlarged the bounds of science' (256). Murray also supported Anna Jameson's application for a pension in 1852 (MS.42319). Of Jameson's many publications, he published her work on art history: *A Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and Near London* (1842) and *Memoirs of Early Italian Painters* (1858). At times, however, it is evident from the letters between Jameson and Murray that their interests did not always coalesce, as Murray wrote to Jameson: 'It is with unfeigned regret that I perceive that you and I are not likely to understand each other. The change from a publisher, to whose mode of conducting business you are accustomed, to another of whom you have had merely good reports, operated something like second marriages, in which whatever occurs that is different from that which was experienced in the first, is always considered wrong by the party who has a married a second time. If, for a particular case, you have been induced to change your physician, you should not take offence, or feel even surprise, at a different mode of treatment' (MS.41911). By the time that Jameson was awarded her pension, she and Murray had clearly overcome their differences to her advantage.

stopped – I shall lose all that I have already expended on illustration printing – amounting to not much less than £200, whereas if I publish the book, as it stands, without regard to any covers I am tolerably certain to sell at once enough copies to bring me home (20<sup>th</sup> January 1868, Dep.c.373).

Over the next six months it is clear that the publication of *On Molecular and Microscopic Science* stalled. As with her first book, it was John Herschel who once again encouraged Murray to proceed with the publication in June 1868. A letter from Murray to Herschel in response to this suggestion again reiterates that it is Somerville's reputation that he is most concerned for: 'the step I have taken in stopping Mrs Somerville's work arises from no fear of loss to myself. On the contrary, were I to bring it out as it is with all its faults, I should be tolerably sure to cover all my outlay – so eager is the demand for a new work by Mrs S' (Dep.c.373). Although Murray professed to be putting Somerville's reputation before his own, it is questionable as to how long his own professional reputation would remain intact once the public found that he had published a work characterised by errors. Nonetheless he still put Somerville before himself in terms of financial reward: 'I thank you for the suggestion as to bringing out the work in parts – but commercially speaking it is far more advantageous to bring out the whole together and I am very anxious that the author should derive benefit from the publication' (Dep.c.373).

The correspondence regarding the publication of *On Molecular and Microscopic Science* is an interesting episode in the Murray-Somerville relations as it is the first example of author and publisher frequently discussing publication matters. Up until his death in June 1860 (Dep.c.361), Somerville's husband has acted as a sort of literary agent, corresponding with Murray about publishing concerns. In the 1860s Somerville began to converse with Murray for the first time about business. In a

letter from Murray to Somerville in February 1867 there seems to be an implicit accusation from Somerville that she has been treated unfairly by Murray when compared to his other scientific authors. As Murray writes: 'I take this opportunity to state for your information the conditions upon which I propose to publish this work for you, which are those as which I publish for [sic] Sir Charles Lyell and Mr Darwin' (Dep.c.373).

A look at the ledger books reveals that, as with Somerville, both Lyell and Darwin also received two-thirds profit for their works. A significant difference, however, between Somerville's relations with Murray, and Lyell's relations with Murray, is in the amount of control which Lyell had over the production of his work. In September 1830, for example, Lyell corresponded with Murray about the type for *Principles of Geology* (MS.40726, Folio 46). Another letter from September 1833 shows how Lyell not only considered in detail the number and size of volumes, but how the target readership would respond to the physicality of the book:

I suppose Spottiswoode has already sent you the accompanying proofs but I leave them in case you have them not. My opinion after fully considering and discussing the matter is that we ought to adopt the larger of the two sizes (which is exactly the size of Mrs Marcet's *Conversations on Chemistry*) and have 4 vols – but the type should at least be as open as in the smaller page which accompanies. If we took the small size 435 pages with the plate and maps folded, in addition would be too thick and bulky. If we adopt the larger in 3 vols, the vols would be rather too bulky, and although 4 vols make the expense rather greater, yet people think they have much more for their money. (MS.40726)

Lyell's reference to Jane Marcet's *Conversations on Chemistry* is an illuminating one as it demonstrates Lyell's own ambition to make his works more popular, a strategy which he was no doubt aware of from the forthcoming publication of Somerville's

*On the Connexion*. Unlike, *On the Connexion*, however, Marcet's books were a different embodiment of 'popularisation'. As Lightman has identified, Marcet's *Conversations* was a book that adopted the 'familiar format [...] a fictional literary format that used letters, dialogues, and conversations, customarily situated in a domestic setting' (21). The 'familiar format' was aimed at a readership comprised predominately of women and children, and became widely successful. By associating his work with such a text, Lyell seems to be signalling to Murray that he is willing to put popularity above scientific endeavours – perhaps a sign of the times when one considers how few works of science, in comparison to other genres, were published in the 1820s and 1830s, which was 6% of all titles (Eliot, 45). In a letter dated May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1832, Lyell goes into some detail about how he could make his work more popular:

Now I see so clearly how all this could be set to rights and the whole work rendered more easy and popular, that I think it would be highly desirable to print as many of vols 1 and 2 as would last until end of 1833, for in 6 months you shall have vol 3 out – and in 18 months you may depend on having it recast in such a form as would enable you to make it a much more popular work, as Clowes stated (Folio 72).<sup>76</sup>

As well as being assertive on matters of publication, Lyell was also forthcoming about financial arrangements. In March 1830 Lyell discusses how his assistant is to be paid: 'I want my assistant who is of a superior cast to feel that he is paid by you not me' (Folio 40). In January 1832 there is a series of correspondence relating to a misunderstanding over payment due to Lyell: 'You will find you have miscalculated

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<sup>76</sup> Other letters from this time further reveal Lyell's involvement in planning the production of the 'popular' (May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1832, Folio 72) edition of *Principles*. For example: September 27<sup>th</sup> 1833 discusses wood cuts, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1833 reveals Lyell's decision behind making the new edition a more compact size, and on Dec 10<sup>th</sup> 1833 Lyell introduces the idea of a new format for *Principles* – '5 vols of two separable works for those who do not wish to purchase "pure geology"'.

the sum which would be due to me out of the profits of the second volume' (Folio 60). A series of letters between Murray and Lyell followed on this matter, culminating in Lyell writing to Murray 'with reluctance and merely as a matter of business' (Folio 63). Lyell's candid discussion of payment is in contrast to Somerville who never instigated the matter of remuneration in her correspondence. In her letters with family members, however, Somerville frequently discussed finances in a detailed manner: 'The plan I propose is that Dr Somerville should make an offer of giving up his appointment at Chelsea upon condition of returning half his salary, which would make our income £1050 per annum. Two hundred of this would go to pay the insurance of his life, and I propose to ensure to the extent of two hundred more, this making an ample provision for the girls in the case of our death and leaving an income of £650' (Dep.c.361). A further letter demonstrates how Somerville prioritised their income: 'I should certainly never have consented to the purchase of a carriage, and should have refused many invitations which were accepted for the sake of the girls, but which were of no kind use [...]. It is some consolation to know that we shall not be worse off than we have been and that we have furnished the drawing room and paid for it, a thing that was greatly needed for the sake of the girls [...]. I have put our house on a plan of strict economy which is all I can do' (Dep.c.361). As well as providing some insight into how much detail Somerville went into about her finances with family members, it is also interesting that she prioritised the expenditures which would contribute most to the family's social standing.

In spite of Somerville's concern that she was not being treated as favourably as Lyell and Darwin, the Lyell correspondence demonstrates that this was a misconception on her part. This may have resulted from Somerville's unfamiliarity with discussing business matters with Murray after years of her husband corresponding with him on her behalf. The correspondence between Lyell and Murray does show, however, that Lyell was more confident in discussing pecuniary matters than Somerville, which may have been the result of her trying to uphold her female 'modesty', a trait which is also identifiable in the correspondence between Rundell and Murray. Although the Murray-Somerville correspondence was sometimes inflected by such gender concerns, it is clear that Somerville did not suffer financially for it. As Lyell's letters reveal, the popularity of the publishing formats that an author like Marcet was associated with, appealed to male authors who evidently believed that an affiliation with this format would not injure their sales.

The difference between Somerville's and Marcet's treatment by Murray was symptomatic of his dealings with his authors. Although Marcet generated high profits for the House, her work and reputation did not possess that aspect of originality and respectability which garnered an invite into the Albemarle Street circle. As seen with Rundell, this was also the case. For authors like Staël and Norton, it is evident that admission was granted, but was limited due to the connotations of public scandal which both authors carried. As discussed, Murray was, however, sympathetic to the plight of such authors as evidenced by the platform he gave Norton to publish her political poem, *A Voice from the Factories*. As for

Somerville, she successfully combined the elitism of science with the originality of form, offset by her carefully constructed 'feminine' traits which presented her as educator of the nation. The differences between Murray's dealings with these authors, although influenced by gender concerns at times, were predominately informed by the same criteria he used to assess the nature of his working relationship with any author.

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Role of Domestic and International Dissemination in Shaping the House Identity**

As his control over the drawing room culture at Albemarle Street, his efforts to minimise the publicity over the Medwin episode, the high sums spent on securing Byron's copyrights throughout the 1820s and 1830s, and his influence over the running of the *Quarterly Review* suggests, Murray expended much time and money on building and maintaining the credible and prestigious reputation of his publishing House. The opportunities and challenges to the House so far examined in this study, while testing Murray's ingenuity and resilience, have all been concerned with his publishing practices within the London marketplace. During the 1820s, and then increasingly throughout the 1830s and 1840s, however, the channels through which Murray did business expanded as innovations in transportation and printing led to the increased circulation of books and also their readers. On the one hand this widened the domestic market and created the possibility of colonial, American, and European readerships, but, on the other, it strengthened the market for piratical publications as people increasingly journeyed to Europe and America, buying cheap foreign editions either for their own consumption or to resell for a profit within the UK, unimpeded by copyright and import regulations.

For Murray the free flow of pirated books was a threat to his profits, though this was not his only concern. In addition to pecuniary considerations, Murray was also exercised by the loss of control over his publications and the reputation of his



House, which, in the hands of the pirate publishers, was beyond his geographical and legal grasp. While Murray had established arrangements with agencies within Britain since the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a noticeable increase in the level of communication between Murray and those agencies, particularly foreign agencies, during the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>77</sup> Murray's boldest moves into the international market were in the form of the *Handbooks for Travellers* series and the *Home and Colonial Library*, for both of which invaluable studies already exist. It is one of the primary aims of this chapter to build upon this current scholarship by examining the *Handbooks* in conjunction with the *Home and Colonial Library*, an approach which will build upon the research of Schaff. This chapter also seeks to further contextualise the Byronic and literary references, which both series make, by situating my interpretation of them within my ongoing discussion of Murray's use of Byron and the drawing room culture throughout the 1820s -1840s.

Another key intention of this chapter is to draw critical attention back to the House's publications and sales methods which predated these two series, but which can be interpreted as being prototypical of the content and sales strategy that informed them. Critical studies often use the *Handbooks* as the starting point of their engagement with the subject of Murray and travel, presumably because the 1830s was the decade in which modern tourism has been identified as emerging. In order to enhance our understanding of the development of the *Handbooks* and the

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<sup>77</sup> There is a significant overlap between Murray II and Murray III in regard to the domestic and international dissemination of books, as this was a part of the business which Murray III became involved with early on in his career, predominately through his writing of the first *Handbooks* in the mid-1830s.

accompanying Home and Colonial library series, I suggest that it is beneficial to return to the years following the Napoleonic Wars, during which, for the first time in twenty years, the continent was effectively re-opened to travellers. As the developments in transport, such as the train and steam-boat, had not serviced the commercial infrastructures that became the catalyst for tourism in the 1830s, travel in the 1820s was still largely the preserve of the very wealthy. The distinction between traveller and tourist, which James Buzard identifies, is important to note when considering the publications of a publisher like Murray, whose readership was more aligned with the Grand Tour model of travelling than the emerging mass tourism, which publishers such as Baedeker and Thomas Cook would later engage with. Murray's own distinction between the traveller and tourist markets can be traced back far further than the Handbooks series. The works of Mariana Starke, Murray's ongoing relations with Galignani, and the publication of the Home and Colonial Library all contributed to the 'anti-touristic gestures' (Schaff 106) which were signified by the Handbooks. They also demonstrate the difficulty Murray had in retaining control over the authenticity of his publications in the face of piratical publishing. Drawing upon Buzard's and Schaff's discussion of the Byronic references in the Handbooks, this chapter will suggest that the reincorporation of Byron was only one way (and due to the commoditisation of Byron throughout the 1830s, perhaps not the most effective way) in which Murray sought to distinguish his readers from the 'tourism' of the Continent.

### **Agencies in Britain**

Before turning to the discussion on the Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library, it is important to place the series in the broader context of Murray's ongoing efforts to identify and develop new trading routes throughout the early-mid nineteenth century. An appreciation of Murray's early trade with other British agents also enables us to better understand the unique challenges later posed by the international markets. The relative control which Murray could exercise over his British agencies was absent from his dealings with foreign agencies due to the lack of international law. His endeavours with agencies in Britain did, however, prepare Murray for trading abroad through the experience in wholesaling, advertising, and knowledge of regulations and trade courtesies that he gained.

Murray's readiness to broaden the domestic channels through which he could disseminate his authors' works can be traced as far back as 1803. Following his break with Samuel Highly in March 1803, Murray wrote to fellow publisher Archibald Constable & Co of Edinburgh to enquire whether 'any arrangement could be made wherein we might prove of reciprocal advantage' (Smiles 58). Both publishers agreed to distribute each other's books in their respective cities, with Murray becoming Constable's London agent for the *Edinburgh Review*, along with Longmans. During the years 1803-1807 the partnership with Constable proved to be successful, especially in terms of the *Edinburgh Review* agency. After Murray became the sole London agency for the *Edinburgh Review* following a pay off to Longmans of £1,000, Murray sold five thousand of the seven thousand copies printed (80) and also had success with the reprints of James Hogg's works. By 1807,

however, Murray became concerned by the financial arrangements that he had put in place with Constable. Constable's reliance on promissory notes to borrow money from Murray alarmed Murray's banker who described them as 'ruinous' (81). Following a series of heated exchanges over Constable's debt to Murray, which was some £10,000, the agency of the *Edinburgh Review* was transferred to his own London agency, which he had lately set up.

Following Murray's separation from Constable, he enlisted James Ballantyne as his new agent in Edinburgh. While this partnership enjoyed some success, especially in regards to the Edinburgh publication of Rundell's *Domestic Cookery*, as with Constable, Murray was forced to withdraw from the partnership due to anxiety over Ballantyne's financial health. Similar to Constable, Ballantyne had engaged in the risky practice of promissory notes, and was seemingly overstretching himself in terms of numbers and frequency of publications. As Murray remarked, 'How can you image that a bookseller can afford to pay eternal advances upon almost every work in which he takes a share with you? And how can you continue to destroy every speculation by entering upon new ones before the previous ones are properly completed?' (Smiles 172).

In 1814, Murray assigned William Blackwood as his Edinburgh agent, which proved to be a more successful relationship than his earlier ones. As discussed in Chapter One, there were noticeable cultural overlaps in terms of the way both Murray and Blackwood used their premises as a 'literary lounge' to help construct a cogent House identity amongst the authors. In 1818, Murray paid £1,000 for a half share in *Blackwood's Magazine*. Although his involvement with the magazine

brought him some economic advantage, its tone and content was not that with which he wanted his name associated. In September 1818 Murray wrote to Blackwood to say that he found ‘the clamour against its personality almost universal’ (483). Samuel Smiles documents the lengthy and frequent correspondence that passed between Blackwood and Murray at this time regarding the future direction of the magazine. By February 1819 it became apparent to Murray that he could not exercise the control over the magazine’s editors, which he deemed necessary to reform the publication, so he broke his partnership with Blackwood’s at this point, transferring his agency to Oliver and Boyd.

During the 1830s there is a noticeable shift in Murray’s focus from the publishing centres of London and Edinburgh toward provincial towns and cities, which he had not previously considered as conduits for his publications. While London and Edinburgh were clearly still important to the House, a series of letters between Murray II and Murray III suggest that they were keen to seize upon new opportunities for sales that had resulted from the Booksellers’ Regulations of 1829. The Regulations stated that no bookseller was to sell new books below the published price<sup>78</sup> (Novell-Smith 1). If they were found doing so that bookseller would be refused further stock from the publisher. Although the Regulations were only intended to apply to London, the committee which oversaw the detailed report on which the Regulations were based, extended the jurisdiction of the Regulations to cover provincial booksellers. In practice, the Regulations changed how books were

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<sup>78</sup> Simon Novell-Smith provides a detailed overview of the Booksellers Regulations in *International Copyright Law and the Publisher in the Reign of Queen Victoria*. 1968.

sold (Novell-Smith 8). During the 1830s it was widely acknowledged in the trade that only the 'retail bookseller', those booksellers who sold from a retail shop, were entitled to trade privileges. These privileges included ten percent off the publishing price of all new books and inclusion at the trade sales and auctions at which publishers sold their wholesale stock.

Prior to the Regulations some of Murray's Family Library publications had been sold at a much-reduced price by booksellers. John Feather suggests that Murray's publications were particularly susceptible to being undersold due to the distinctive bindings and advertising of the books. According to Feather, bindings influenced the sale of the book as they made the book more easily recognisable in different shops, therefore enabling the customer to more easily compare prices between retailers, naturally preferring to buy from a bookseller who was offering the lowest price. Advertising also contributed to underselling by familiarising the public with suggested retail prices, which some booksellers would then undercut in order to 'make up in quantity and quick turnover what they lost in selling price' (Feather, 6). Murray must have been pleased that the Regulations were passed, an assertion that is further supported by the fact that he was one of the ten London firms, which together, constituted the London Booksellers' Committee.

The bookseller tour, which the House undertook during the early 1830s, was led by Murray III. Thus, in addition to demonstrating the ways in which the House capitalised upon new channels which were opened up by changes in legislation, a response later seen in regard to the Home and Colonial Library, the tour also foregrounds Murray III's early involvement in his father's business. The experience

that he gained during this tour, especially in matters such as wholesaling, advertising and networking, were all later used to similar effect as he oversaw the production of the Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library. Throughout the 1830s Murray III corresponded frequently with Murray II, evidenced by the large number of these letters that survive in the archive.<sup>79</sup> Even before his involvement with the Handbooks, these letters reveal that Murray III was a key strategist in moving the business forward. Murray III's involvement with the trade began in 1826 when he moved to Scotland to study at the University of Edinburgh, putting him in geographical proximity to some of the major figures of the book trade.

Correspondence in the archive shows how Murray III started to become acquainted, while he was still at university, with some of the characters who would become life-long colleagues, and competitors, during his career as a publisher. For example, in February 1827 Murray III dined, for the first time, with James Ballantyne and George Boyd, with whom he soon after began an apprenticeship; whilst, in May 1827, Murray III was introduced to William Blackwood at his Princes Street premises:

Mr Duncan took me into Blackwood's, he was not at home himself but I saw his son. The next day I called again with Mr Duncan, and found Mr Blackwood himself, he really gave me a very cordial reception, he asked me to look in upon him sometime which I certainly shall. I should not have called upon him by myself, but as Mr Duncan offered to introduce me, and as from what you said to me on leaving London, I was given to understand that you did not object, I thought it too good an opportunity to be missed. (MS. 43059)

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<sup>79</sup> The family papers, 1826-1841 (MS.43059)

It appears from the above letter that rather than waiting for an introduction to Blackwood from his father, Murray III met with the Edinburgh publisher by his own volition. Indeed, Murray III's resourcefulness was further developed and tested throughout the bookseller tour as he travelled around Britain in search of new booksellers. This experience was later beneficial when he started to recruit foreign agencies during the 1840s.

In 1831 Murray III began travelling between towns and cities with a prospectus of the House's new publications, writing to his father with updates on his progress:

I am disposed to draw very favourable auguries from the commencement of my campaign – I called upon all the chief Oxford booksellers, and I find that your prospectuses have been very generally circulated and that where they had been they had taken effect. Many subscription lists are already opened. Those who have not received prospectuses are eager to get them, those who have, for the most part have disposed of them and desire more. The small number that I have with me will not suffice to satisfy them [...]. The only serious obstacle to the success of the plan appears to be the extent to which the edition of Galignani is sold in Oxford – it can be purchased openly – can you not catch some offender of importance at the nefarious work and make an example of him – you could not have a better advertisement at this moment than a trial in a law court. (MS. 43059)

It is unclear which Galignani edition Murray III encountered. Correspondence between Basil Hall and Galignani on Murray's behalf in 1829 would suggest that it is Moore's *Life of Byron*. Murray III's use of the word 'nefarious' to describe the publication which he found in Oxford, however, suggests that it is a work which Murray would altogether disapprove of, such as Dallas's *Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron*, which the Parisian publisher printed much to Murray's disdain. The



relationship between Murray and Galignani, who eventually became Murray's Parisian agent, is discussed in more detail later on in this chapter.

After Murray III's trip to Oxford he moved on to Hereford, where his increasing confidence in his ability to negotiate and recognise business opportunities is noticeable:

There and here I have met with the same satisfactory reception in the character of your agent, as previously, and of course I begin to be more perfect in my part and more au fait at the business – I generally contrive to, if possible, have an interview with the head of the establishment, and in that way have made acquaintance with several very respectable members of the trade [...]. I find the demand for prospectuses very great, much more than I had at first calculated. You must make up your mind to print a large number more, their distribution cannot but be most beneficial. The success of the Waverley novels is universally attached to the abundance of prospectuses. (MS. 43059)

The correlation between sales and prospectuses which Murray identifies is attributed to the increase in possible routes of dissemination which they make possible: 'The further I go, the more I see the advantage of an abundant circulation of specimens – They serve to make the thing known in channels never before attempted and we must not be sparing of these' (MS. 43059).

The relatively recent importance attached to the prospectuses in capitalising upon the new markets opened up by the Booksellers Regulations was also realised by other publishers at this time. As suggested above, Robert Cadell effectively used the prospectuses to increase the sales of the new Waverley editions. Murray III later describes Cadell's use of the prospectus in more detail:

Such is the demand for prospectuses, I find myself even now that our supply is so far inferior to that quantity distributed by Cadell for the novels, that I

would recommend we order to save both time and expense to preface some thousands without the plate and to only send out a small number with plates to each individual – Cadell distributed his prospectuses by hundreds. (MS. 43059)<sup>80</sup>

Throughout Murray's correspondence at this time there is an undercurrent of hope that the wider circulation of prospectuses will increase the sales of Crabbe's poetry, which was making a large loss at this time. In trying to promote Crabbe, Murray also explored other channels of advertising throughout the regions, such as newspapers.<sup>81</sup> Murray also discovered that one publisher, Thomas Tegg, had actually been making a 'fortune' from Crabbe's works thanks to his use of a trader who approached the booksellers directly. This gave Murray III an idea about how he could streamline the dissemination of a publication so as to maximise profit. As he wrote to Murray II: 'It may perhaps be worth while considering why you should have any second person to go between you, and the small traders who pay Tegg so well. Nibbs [the trader] says he has made a fortune out of your books alone. (MS. 43059)<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Murray III again wrote to Murray II about the opportunities of the prospectuses in two further letters: 'My distribution of prospectuses here and at Manchester will entirely exhaust my supply – even of Crabbe [...]. Do not forget Family Library prospectuses too – for I hope to do a good deal by circulating it, especially in the north where as yet it has not had a fair chance (MS. 43059).' 'I may mention by the way that I have an overflow of Crabbe [prospectuses] over the others and I would beg you to cause the next parcel which you send to consist of Bible prospectuses [...]. The sight of the book has generally produced a favourable effect – send me another very choice copy to show round, as it loses its beauty by being handled.' (MS.43059)

<sup>81</sup> 'I have been introduced to the newsroom and have since been drinking coffee with a young bookseller established here, who seems very respectable and has been very courteous [...]. I have called on perhaps a third of the trade – as well as the principle newspaper editors – in order to induce them to give notices – *The Saturday Post* has published one [and] *The Scotsman* has one in type [...]. I must fairly tell you that I find a good deal of coolness among the booksellers about Crabbe here, and it is only by making a clatter and inducing them to read the book that this can be done away.' (MS. 43059)

<sup>82</sup> I have not been able to find anymore communications in the John Murray Archive to confirm whether this was an approach which Murray III later used himself. It is evident from his letters to agencies in Europe and America, however, that Murray III dealt directly with them where possible,

During this time Murray also reports to London on the state of affairs with Oliver and Boyd:

I have just returned from dining with Mr Boyd, I cannot help observing that he is a very skilful manager of appearances, but still it appears to me that he is the most creative agent in Edinburgh [...]. I will therefore request you still to address the parcel of prospectuses to him – I have both written and spoken to him to make him understand that the sale of back numbers of Family Library has increased late in England, that if a similar increase does not take place here; blame must be attached to those engaged in superintending it [...]. Oliver and Boyd say they would do much more with your books if they had them sent down earlier so that they might send them around here at the same time they are in London [...]. There are many of your books also of which they never even see a copy [...]. I mentioned to you in my first letter from Edinburgh that Oliver and Boyd had sold two-hundred-and-fifty of their supply of Crabbe. I have told them of the increase in Ireland – and yesterday Boyd told me that first orders were beginning to come in. (MS.43059).

The realisation that Crabbe was selling well outside of London is reflected in the ledger books, where, in January 1833, Murray prints 40,000 prospectuses for distribution. The prospectuses cost a significant amount, and as with his book publications, they were of a high quality as the following excerpt from Ledger Book C demonstrates:

Travelling expenses for Mr J. Murray distributing prospectuses - £40

Printing 40,000 prospectuses - £29 17s 6d

Printing 3,500 in demy for show boards - £4 2s 6d

Prospectuses, 8vo, ¼ sheet, 8,400 - £10 6s

20 reams foolscap - £37 1s 6d

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sometimes using a 'go-between' figure who was already based in the country, such as Basil Hall in Paris, to negotiate on Murray's behalf with the agency.

Touring 3,303 show boards and stitch prospectuses - £97 5s 6d

Total - £523 4s 4d (MS.42727, Folio 66)

The total amount which Murray spent on prospectuses far exceeded his usual advertising costs, which for Crabbe's monthly editions is recorded as £10 3s (Folio 71). Clearly, Murray thought that the prospectuses provided an additional channel of promotion which regular forms of advertising in newspapers and trade magazines could not offer.

At this time Murray III also realised the opportunities of the wholesale market. Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston<sup>83</sup> have identified Murray III's awareness of the importance of wholesale opportunities in relation to the Handbooks from 1842 onwards, but, as the following letter from February 1834 shows, this was a sales method that Murray III had been aware of for some time:

There is a house in Manchester – of Banks and Hayward, recently established as a wholesale house – They have books sent down to them at sale price (the same you would charge to Longman and Simpkin in London) and are thus enabled to supply the trade in Manchester at the same cost as the retail price in London are supplied to Longmans, and, save the carriage and commission they would have to pay when the books are ordered down from the wholesale London houses. (MS.43059)

Throughout the 1820s, Murray II had offered trade discounts in the form of selling twenty-five books for the price of twenty-four. During the 1840s, however, Murray

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<sup>83</sup> Goodwin and Johnston. 'Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century: John Murray's Handbooks for Travellers.' 2013.

III made far greater concessions when dealing with foreign agents, such as selling a book at a wholesale price that was half of the retail value.

### **International Agencies**

Murray III's generous discounts through the wholesale markets in the 1840s were not an act of kindness, but a necessity at a time when the international book trade between Britain and the rest of Europe and America was unregulated by law. As piracy was inevitable, Murray realised that, by appointing agencies in Europe and America, he would at least receive some payment for books sold abroad, in addition to being able to oversee the production of his works, which carried the name and reputation of his House. The incentive for the agencies to agree to such arrangements was that they would receive Murray's publications before any other publisher would have the chance to pirate the works. This conferred a mark of exclusivity and authenticity upon the books, which made them more attractive and, therefore, more saleable to the foreign reader. In the same way that wholesale arrangements could be termed as a 'trade courtesy', copyright agreements were also agreed between publishers in spite of there being little legal requirement for them to do so.

The following sections of this chapter on the House's dealings with agencies in America and Europe foreground the ways in which both Murrays tried to control the dissemination of his publications on these continents. The experience which Murray gained during the bookseller tour (especially his increased awareness of the prevalence of pirated editions in Britain, the opportunities of wholesale, the

advantages of the prospectus, and the power of building a network of contacts), can be seen to be put into practice throughout his later letters to agencies in America and Europe, in an attempt to help construct the right conditions for selling the Handbooks, the Home and Colonial Library, and other valuable publications, in these jurisdictions.

### **America**

Due to their colonial past, the US shared certain similarities with Britain when it came to reading during the early-mid nineteenth century. As a nation still in its infancy, America's reading public still turned to British literature to provide the reading materials that the early republic could not offer. In 1820, the American publisher Samuel Goodrich estimated that seventy percent of America's publications were of British works (Seville 156). In 1828, the US imported eighty thousand dollars worth of books from Britain, making Britain its largest import market (Winship 107). In spite of America's heavy reliance on the British book market to provide its citizens with literature, American publishers and booksellers were under no legal obligation to pay the British author for their work. From the first copyright act in 1790, to the Chance Act in 1891, copyright protection within the US was only granted to American citizens (Winship 101).

As far back as 1817, however, trade arrangements existed between Murray II and American publishers. Thomas Kirk, a New York publisher, offered Murray a third of his net profits in return for early sheets of British authors' works. For some

time prior to that Kirk & Co. had specialised in piracies of the *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh Review* and the works of Byron. It is unclear what prompted Kirk's sudden change of heart, but a letter from Kirk to Murray suggests a growing respect towards the British book trade:

Gentlemen in the trade on your side of the Atlantic, largely interested in the publication of very valuable and expensive copyright works, have long and deeply felt the great inconveniences, and to them the injurious operation of the laws in this country, inasmuch as they do not recognise the copyright of any book published by citizens of another state or nation. In this state of things, a remedy has presented itself to our minds, to wit, to make an arrangement founded on principles of reciprocity and confidence, and divide the profits arising from the first republication of new works in this country with the publisher in England who first sends out the copy (Smiles 27).

The reverence for the British book trade, which Kirk implies, corresponds to James West's study of the American firm, Putnams, who 'for the most part approved of the business philosophies and practices of British publishers and admired the tone of the British trade' (359). West suggests that Putnam, who began trading in the late-1830s, was one of the first American publishers to pay for British works. As the above letter suggests, however, this practice had started some years earlier.

It was in the 1830s, however, that a more concentrated effort was made by Murray to forge transatlantic partnerships with American agencies. While it was British authors and publishers who predominately lost out financially to American piracies, the American author and the trade of American books within the US was also damaged. As Seville identifies, in 1834 the average cost of an American book by an American author was \$1.40, and only 75c for a British reprint. As such, the American pirates had a strong hold over the market, selling at a price that was more attractive to the majority of book buyers. Washington Irving lamented that 'the

public complains of the price of my work – this is the disadvantage of coming in competition with those republished English works for which the Booksellers have not to pay anything to the authors. If the American public wish to have literature of their own they must consent to pay for the support of authors’ (Seville 157). The vicarious advantage to the British publisher arising from the lack of copyright protection in the US was that the American reader was easily acculturated in British matters. A letter from Murray to Carey & Lea, a Philadelphia publisher, in 1837, suggests Murray’s confidence that one of his major works, the four-volume *Life of William Wilberforce*, will appeal to the American market in the same way that Lockhart’s *Life of Scott* did:

I am desired by Mr M to inform you that he has [this] last week induced arrangements for the publication of a *Life of the Late Wilberforce* and to enquire whether it would suit you to undertake an edition of the works in the US and also to ask what offer you would make for a set of stereotype plates of the book. The work is written by Wilberforce’s two sons and contains their father’s extensive correspondence with Mr Pitt and all the distinguished men of his day. To give you a notion of the estimate of the value of the work intended by Mr Murray it will only be necessary to inform you that he has given the sum of £4,500 for the copyright – for ten years the celebrity of Wilberforce’s name and character in America as well as in this country, and the high estimation in which he is held by the religious world have decided Mr Murray on concluding arrangements with some House in America – confident that the success of the work there will be proportionally great as it is here [...]. The work will consist of four vols of a type and size similar to those of Lockhart’s *Life of Scott*, there will be two portraits and engravings in the best style. These could be forwarded to you from time to time as they were made ready, and three weeks should be allowed between the transmission of the concluding portion of the work and the publication here. (MS.41911, Folio 205)

The partnership between Carey & Lea and Murray was aided by the implementation of the Cunard Line in 1838. The Cunard Line was the first transatlantic steamship contract, operating a route between Liverpool, Boston and New York twice a month



(Winship, 103). This innovation in transportation coupled with the Americans' desire for British literature led to a successful partnership between Carey & Lea and Murray. In August 1841 there is evidence that Murray wrote to Carey & Lea with an exclusive offer for the illustrated edition of *Childe Harold*:

Mr Murray desires me to inform you that the forthcoming illustrated edition of *Childe Harold* will sell for £2 2s – and will contain 62 illustrations including a portrait of Byron never before engraved and a plan or map of the route [...]. Mr Murray desires me to inform you that he could not think of disposing of a less number than 500 for the American market and proposes to charge Messrs Lea & Blanchard<sup>84</sup> for that number of 25/- per copy; for 750, 23/- per copy, and for 1,000, 21/- per copy. The payment to be made by approved and accredited bills. The books to be delivered and done up in the manner in which they are sold in England – copies could be delivered ready for shipment – some days before the publication of the work in England. Mr Murray at the same time desires me to send you some specimens of the plates and letterpress of the work and also proof of the portrait alluded to. (MS.41911, Folio 7)

Murray's dissemination of Byron in America during the early 1840s coincides with his re-use of Byron's works in the Handbook series. As with the recycling of Byron's works in the monthly editions during the early 1830s, made in an attempt to compete with the cheap literature market in the UK, Murray once again returned to his prized asset to promote the values of his House while at the same time ensuring a healthy profit.<sup>85</sup>

Alongside his promotion of Byron in America, there is also evidence that Murray was desirous to ensure the official publication of the *Quarterly Review* in

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<sup>84</sup> The full name of the firm was Carey, Lea & Blanchard. Murray seems to use the names interchangeably in his correspondence, probably to reflect the shifting management of the firm, or the availability of the partners with whom he was conducting each business arrangement.

<sup>85</sup> Murray's promotion of Byron in America continued in 1843, as a further letter to Carey & Lea demonstrates wherein he sold five hundred copies of *Childe Harold* in boards at 21/- each, or 18/- for one thousand copies. (MS.41911, Folio 126)

both the US and Canada at this time. As the letters from Kirk to Murray in 1817 suggest, there was an American market for not only the *Quarterly Review* but also other British periodicals. In December 1843 Murray wrote to Joseph Mason of New York:

I consent to your offer regarding copies of the *Quarterly Review* for circulation in America and will send you 100 copies of the number about to be published at the rate of 2s. As this, however, is the lowest price at which I can furnish them, I hope that the quantity taken may increase in future numbers – as I cannot doubt that there is now an opening for the English edition of the *Quarterly Review* in the United States. (MS.41911, Folio 139)

At around the same time, in November 1843, Murray also made similar arrangements with Armour and Ramsay, a bookseller in Montreal:

I have to acknowledge your letters of October 12<sup>th</sup> and am glad to find that you have received the *Quarterly* and have undertaken the trial of supplying the place of the American reprint in which I hope you will succeed, it is at least well worth making the trial. The difficulties regarding transport are I perceive great especially in winter and accordingly I shall send no more until I hear from you or receive the promised visit from some member of your House. Have the American booksellers any advantage over ours in cheap transit through their post offices? And, if so, can I do anything here to obtain a reduction of charges for periodicals, pamphlets etc. etc. (MS.41911, Folio 127)

Murray's interest in the North American market in the 1840s was instigated by the Copyright Act 1842 and the Customs Act 1842. The two key practical effects of the Acts were the imposition of a fine for the importation of foreign reprints into a colonial country (Copyright Act 1842), and the 'blacklisting' of books which proprietors did not want Customs to allow into the country (Customs Act 1842).<sup>86</sup> As

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<sup>86</sup> The literature on the copyright legislation of the 1840s is complex, with a number of similar acts being passed in quick succession. Catherine Seville in *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law* provides an accessible overview. The Copyright Act (1842) affected the trade in foreign reprints by imposing a £10 fine on those caught importing books for sale or hire. The importation of books for personal use were, however, unrestricted. The Customs Act (1842) further tightened these restrictions

these letters demonstrate, the flow of pirated *Quarterly Reviews* with which American pirates supplied Canada was thereby curtailed by the passing of these Acts. The successful prohibition of the American *Quarterly Review* piracies was, however, unusual given the gaps in the two Acts which Catherine Seville identifies in *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law*. Nonetheless, a letter from Murray to John Barrow in January 1844 communicates that the impact of this legislation upon trading with both American and Canadian agencies had been positive:

I feel much obliged to Lord Stanley and you for allowing me a sight of the dispatches from New Brunswick, although its terms are not very encouraging to English authors and publishers, and least of all those who are [swerving] from old justices and endeavouring to meet the pirates on their own ground of cheapness as far as possible. Fortunately, I have more satisfactory intelligence from other colonies. Last summer I sent to Canada a supply of the *Quarterly Review*, at a price not much above the cost, upon the strength of the new copyright laws. The result has been that not only a demand has been established for the *Quarterly Review*, but the proprietors of other periodicals – the *Edinburgh*, *Blackwoods*, etc., have been solicited to supply these works on similar terms, and the colonies can now have them at a cost not much exceeding the price of the American piracy. But this is not all, the effects of the new laws are telling in the US and over the last six months, Messrs Longman and I have been solicited by the person who used to reprint the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review* for the US and Canada to send him the English edition, which we have already begun to do, thus stopping the reprint in the US and offering a new market for us in addition to the Canadas heretofore supplied from the US. (MS.41911, Folio 144)

The benefits, which Murray was seeing from the Copyright Act 1842, were, in part, due to him and members of his inner circle. As Seville notes, by 1842 both Longman and Murray collected signatures for the petition to pass the bill (118). Seville identifies the House of Murray as one of the few leading London publishers who

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on the importation of foreign reprints by enabling proprietors to issue a list of books they did not want to see imported back into colonial countries to the Commissioners of Customs. Due to an oversight, this only worked in Britain, meaning that books could still be imported into other colonial countries. The Customs Act 1845 extended the 1842 legislation to cover the colonies, but, as Seville suggests, this still had little effect on the importation of foreign reprints (49).

could ‘wield a good deal of power’ (119) in influencing the outcome of the petition. Murray’s connections with key political figures enabled him to write persuasively about the subject, as a series of letters between Murray and William Gladstone indicates (MS.42259). Although the Copyright and Customs acts provided some clarification on the importation of foreign books into the colonies, the law on international copyright still remained uncertain and did not provide any copyright protection for the works of British authors being printed and sold in America.

The lack of an international copyright agreement was of detriment to both American and British authors. Charles Dickens complained that: ‘It is one of immense importance to me, for at this moment I have received from the American Editions of my works – fifty pounds. It is of immense importance to the Americans likewise if they desire (and if they do not, what people on earth should) ever to have a Literature of their own’ (Seville, 165). The deleterious impact that the copyright question had on authors of both nationalities was addressed at a dinner held in Dickens’ honour during his tour of America in the early-1840s. A précis of Dickens’ lobbying in America was communicated to Murray by the author in a letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> July 1842 (see Appendix Five). This political pressure may have helped the International Copyright Act 1844 become law, which was intended to implement bilateral copyright agreements between countries willing to offer reciprocal copyright protection.

In spite of the trade arrangements which Murray spent time implementing, and the passing of the Copyright Act and Customs Act, copyright law was still largely governed by case law, which meant that it remained liable to more sudden

change than laws decreed by statute. In the 1840s, the copyright arrangements that had been negotiated between British publishers and American authors, to protect their rights in England, were shaken by the outcome of the case of *Boosey v Purday* (1848). Prior to *Boosey v Purday*, the case of *Bentley v Foster* (1839) held that copyright protection was granted to the proprietor based upon the jurisdiction of first publication. For example, if an American author chose to publish their work in England before the work was printed in America, the work would be protected by British copyright law.<sup>87</sup>

This was the law under which Murray had made arrangements with Washington Irving. The case of *Boosey v Purday*, however, resulted in these copyright arrangements being altered. Where Murray had been assigned the copyright from Irving through publishing his work in Britain before the US edition under the rule in *Bentley v Foster*, the case of *Boosey v Purday* now ruled that copyright was to be decided on the basis of where the author was residing at the time of first publication. Irving's place of residence was never a factor that Murray had taken into consideration when expending a total of £10,000 on his copyrights, and this new ruling was potentially very disadvantageous to Murray. *Jeffreys v Boosey* (1851) overturned and so superseded the rule in *Boosey v Purday*, meaning that the author's place of residence was no longer a factor, and that copyright was, once more, acquired by place of first publication (Seville, 185).

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<sup>87</sup> The work of a British author published in America before Britain, however, was not subject to the same copyright protection – hence the proliferation of piracies of British works in America.

The legal uncertainties during this period clearly had an impact on a publisher's ability to trust that their assets would be protected against foreign reprints. Murray's involvement in lobbying for legal reform demonstrates, yet again, his desire to retain control over some of his most valuable assets, the demand for which was apparent in America and, as will be discussed next, Europe.

### **Europe**

Murray's negotiations with American agencies were more concentrated towards the end of the 1830s, and the beginning of the 1840s, whereas he was already in correspondence with European agencies during the early 1820s. Murray's desire to make selling arrangements with European agencies stemmed primarily from the geographical proximity of the Continent to the UK, which meant that the Continent was a large market for pirated copies of British works, as well as a popular holiday destination, exacerbating the threat to the prosperity of the British book market. As Murray III found on his bookseller tour, pirated editions from European pirates could easily find their way onto the shelves of British booksellers.

While the Handbooks have occupied the attention of most scholars interested in the subject of Murray and travel, there is a significant amount of material in the John Murray Archive to demonstrate Murray's earlier involvement with the travel genre and European agents during the early-1820s. The publication of Maria Starke's *Travels on the Continent* (1820), which ran into multiple editions throughout the 1820s was an important publication for Murray and may be seen as a fore-runner to

the Handbooks, which in the late 1830s sought to provide for a more middle class market, whilst engaging the earlier publications' 'Grand Tour' ethos. Murray's communications with the Parisian bookseller, Galignani, during the 1820s also reveal Murray's concerns, both financial and cultural, about piratical copies of Starke, and Byron, and the influence which Galignani had over the British ex-patriot community in France.

James Buzard locates 'the first glimmerings' of the mass tourism that eventually overtook the Grand Tour model of travelling in the late-1830s. The years between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the emergence of tourism in the late-1830s were important in redefining this shifting paradigm. Although the Continent had re-opened to visitors after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, for the first time since the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars in 1790, the sudden exodus of British travellers across the Channel was overly exaggerated by the papers (Buzard 47). In spite of the Continent re-opening for travel, the innovations in transportation and other institutions, which enabled tourism in the late-1830s, had not yet been developed. As such, travelling remained the preserve of the privileged classes for the coming decade. This generation of travellers continued to seek the Grand Tour style of travelling that their pre-war predecessors had enjoyed during the eighteenth century. The proliferation of travel journals (as opposed to travel guides) at this time suggests that travellers to the Continent were still seeking out reading materials formed of the epistolary style which would enhance their experience of a country, rather than prescribe it in the measured narrative of the travel guides.

Maria Starke's *Letters From Italy* (First Edition, 1800; Second Edition, 1815) is one such example of this epistolary style, which was popular with Grand Tour style travellers. In addition to the narrative style, the inclusion of vast sections on the classicism and antiquities of Rome also exemplifies the subjects that were of importance in fulfilling the educative purposes of the Grand Tour. As Buzard notes, parallels were drawn between the British and the Roman Empires as Britain continued to geographically dominate the 'four corners' of the earth (121). It was, therefore, considered to be suitable for young men on Tour to become acquainted with the running of the Roman Empire in preparation for the part they would play in ruling the British Empire. As Starke's book reveals, this involved travelling through Italy while noting the classical architecture, art and literature of the former Roman dynasty.

Although there was still a demand for works like Starke's after the Napoleonic Wars, as the publication date of the second edition in 1815 suggests, the barring of the Continent to British travellers during the Wars did put in motion a style of travelling which would later re-emerge in Murray's Handbooks. As British travellers were denied the opportunity to holiday abroad, they increasingly journeyed around the British Isles instead, discovering the less-inhabited parts of rural England, Wales and Scotland. The rugged landscapes of Britain served as a counter-point to the neo-classicism of Italy, forming the 'underpinnings of the Romantic Movement' (Buzard 40). The concept of the 'picturesque' encapsulated this new subjectivity open to British travellers, acting as an intermediary between 'the beautiful' and 'the sublime' (Buzard, 'The Grand Tour' 45). As a result, it was postulated that travellers



in Britain were able to experience both the ‘beauty’ of the domestic landscapes in addition to the drama of the mountainous ranges of rural Britain, traditionally experienced in the Alps.

British travellers in search of the ‘picturesque’ experience, therefore, started to flock to places such as the Lake District, which offered an amalgamation of these two types of landscape. Thus, even before the transportation and other institutional conditions, which consolidated the rise of tourism in the late-1830s, a discourse of anti-tourism was already in gestation throughout Britain. William Wordsworth was an early proponent of the anti-tourism discourse, publishing an ‘anti-guidebook’ to the Lake District between 1810 and 1842 (Buzard 30). As Buzard suggests:

‘Wordsworth promoted an ideal of sincere, independent travel against the degraded tourism that so often seemed to follow in its footsteps and to make it increasingly difficult to praise’ (29). Wordsworth’s emphasis on sincerity and independence no doubt stemmed from his Romantic sensibilities, with the archetypal Romantic hero being antipathetic to the touristic crowds who represented imitation in the face of Romanticism’s reverence of originality and authenticity.

When the Continent re-opened to travellers, this anti-touristic discourse remained, and continued to strengthen throughout the 1820s and 1830s in response to a perceived increase in middle class ‘tourists’ travelling abroad. Although Buzard notes that the newspapers over-estimated the numbers of people journeying to the Continent in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, the perception of this mass movement nonetheless remained. Due to texts such as Wordsworth’s anti-travel guide, ‘tourists came to be regarded as depending unquestioningly on the

conventions that guided the tours; “the traveller” possessed an originality and self-sufficiency in judgement’ (Buzard 27). Thus, a binary between traveller/originality and tourist/imitator was born, the roots of which were grounded in class ideology. The classicism of the Grand Tour, and the Romanticism of the picturesque, thereby became two narratives with which upper class travellers identified, as a way to differentiate themselves from the uncultured imitators of the emerging middle class.

For Murray, such a distinction already suited the ethos of his House. The emphasis on authenticity as a marker of class and prestige (which he had invested in with assets such as Byron and the drawing room, with its classical portraits and busts, as discussed in Chapter One), meant that he had a ready market for this sort of travel book as the genre divided into the traveller/tourist dichotomy. As discussed in Chapter Two, however, the burgeoning middle class, and the accompanying demand for cheaper literature, was still an economic reality that Murray could not ignore. As with the monthly editions of Byron, Murray thereby needed to find a similar method through which he could take advantage of this large market whilst still retaining the guiding principles and reputation of the House’s earlier years. Thus, although there was a class-based distinction between traveller and tourist, it was one that nevertheless overlapped at times. Murray II’s, and then Murray III’s, attempts to reconcile these two discourses by producing travel books which would simultaneously appeal to the cultured traveller whilst selling in sufficient numbers to make the House competitive with other publishers (such as Baedeker and Thomas Cook) can be traced through their communications with Maria Starke, Galignani, and then, finally, the Handbook and Home and Colonial Library series. At each stage, we

can see the Murrays contend with these opposing discourses in addition to negotiating trade routes through which to sell the books and concurrently protect present assets, the loss of control of which may have pulled the House the wrong side of the traveller/tourist dichotomy.

### **Galignani and the French Piracies**

As the Continent re-opened after the Napoleonic Wars, not only to British travellers, but to other European travellers too, Paris became the main centre for the offshore publication of English-language books (St Clair, 293). From the late-eighteenth century onwards a number of booksellers, who would later dominate the piracy market in the early-mid nineteenth century, established themselves: Martin Bossange of Bourdeaux (1785), Truettel and Wurz of Strasbourg (1795), Parsons and Galignani (1800), Baudry (1815), and J.B.M. Ballière (1818). It was Galignani, whose only significant rival was Baudry, who emerged as the chief bookseller to the British and European ex-pats and travellers who visited France's capital city during this time. Rather than working in opposition to one another, however, St Clair notes that Galignani and Baudry established an offshore 'pirate syndicate' in order to monopolise the French market.

In addition to the pirate syndicate with Baudry, Galignani's dominance was further achieved through the range of publications that they offered. During the 1820s, Galignani re-printed a significant number of works by major British authors such as Scott, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley and Byron (Barber, 273). Not only did

Galignani print the most popular authors, he also published their works in one-volume editions that often contained ‘suppressed’ works unpublished in Britain (Barber 273). The price of such publications was also significantly cheaper than the equivalent British editions: Galignani’s standard novels sold at 5/10, whereas in Britain a three-decker novel cost 31s 6d; and poetry was sold at 2/10, in contrast to the average of 5/6 that it cost across the Channel (Barber 272). Galignani also printed compilations of British works, again in one volume, such as *The Complete Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats* (1829), which sold for 25 francs.<sup>88</sup> By the end of the 1820s Galignani was selling a series of ‘Standard Modern Novels and Romances’ at seven francs a volume.

Although there was no legal requirement for them to do so, in 1821 Galignani wrote to Murray to ask if he could have the right to print Byron’s works in France. Barber suggests that the reason for Galignani’s request was that, by assigning the rights to Galignani, other French pirates would be prevented from re-printing Byron’s works; the general rule being that in granting rights to one French publisher, no other French publisher would then have the right to re-print. Galignani’s comparative candour and resourcefulness in conducting business is perhaps one of the contributing reasons as to why Murray decided to use Galignani as their agent in France, as discussed in more detail below. In response to Galignani’s request for permission to print Byron’s works, Murray sent a stern letter back stating the inequity of the situation which piratical publishers such as Galignani had put him in:

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<sup>88</sup> The rate of exchange in the 1820s was approximately 25 francs to the pound (Barber 272).

In answer I shall state what you do not seem to be aware of, that for the copyright of these works you are printing for nothing, I have given the author upwards of £10,000. Lord Byron has sent me the assignment, regularly made, and if you will send me £250 I will make it over to you. I have just received a Tragedy by Lord Byron, for the copyright of which I have paid £1050, and also three new cantos of *Don Juan*, for which I have paid £2100. What can you afford to give me for the exclusive right of printing them in France upon condition that you receive them before any other bookseller? (Smiles 116).<sup>89</sup>

As the letter explains, and as discussed in Chapter Two, Murray's expenditure on Byron's copyrights had been a significant investment for the House. They were not only a financial investment, but were also emblematic of Murray's control over Byron's image, and eventually, his legacy. Due to the lack of international copyright laws, all of Murray's efforts were in vain when considered in the context of the international markets.

Murray's loss of control over Byron's published work was further exacerbated by the posthumous biographies of Byron published during the mid-1820s. As discussed in Chapter One in regard to Medwin's *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron*, Murray had gone to great lengths to limit the damage to his and Byron's reputation caused by such publications. In 1824, however, Galignani re-printed Medwin's *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* in Paris. Not only that, but it was advertised as a more 'complete' edition than the London one (Barber 273). Galignani also re-printed Dallas' *Private Correspondence of Lord Byron*, which had been prevented from publication by injunction in England.

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<sup>89</sup> This letter is dated January 16<sup>th</sup> 1821 so the Byron Tragedy which Murray refers to is presumably *Sardanapalus*, *The Two Foscari* or *Marino Faliero*, which were the three tragedies Murray purchased the copyright of that year for the sum of £1,050 (MS.42725).

In spite of Galignani's insistence on publishing the works that had caused Murray so much upset in London, the two Houses continued to correspond with one another. Rather than willingly entering into any arrangements with Galignani during the 1820s, however, the correspondence suggests that Murray proceeded with certain deals reluctantly, perhaps surmising that it was better to assign rights to one House (and the most powerful of the Parisian Houses at that), than relinquish all control to any number of French publishers who took a fancy to re-printing his books. Thus, in 1829 there is a series of communications between Murray and Galignani regarding the French publication of Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron*. As with the communications between Colburn & Bentley and Galignani, which were facilitated by the intermediary Charles Ollier (Barnes 294), Murray used Basil Hall as his agent to negotiate in Paris with Galignani. Although all sides of the correspondence are not available, it is possible to deduct from the remaining letters that Murray wished Galignani to cease the publication of Moore's *Life of Byron*, even though he had previously granted them the rights. The reason as to why Murray wished this to be so is unclear. A letter from Galignani to Hall, however, communicates that they are too far along in the production process to stop the publication from going ahead:

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. In answer we regret to say that we are unable to deliver to you any part of the copy of the *Life of Byron*, it being all in the hands of Madam Belloc<sup>90</sup> and our printer, and we are certain that under the circumstances neither Mr Moore nor Mr Murray would wish us to deprive Madam Belloc of the part she has and on which we understand she is working night and day, as also to throw out of work the compositors we have on it, and for which in order to get in quickly we were

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<sup>90</sup> I have not been able to find any information regarding who Madam Belloc was. From the correspondence between Murray and Galignani, it can be surmised that she was involved in the production of the Galignani edition of *Life of Byron*.

obliged to master from other printing offices. Mr Murray and Mr Moore need not have the least uneasiness respecting what we [intend] and of course both Madam Belloc and us intend to pay Mr Moore for the part we have had. Allow us nevertheless to say that we cannot conceive the reason Mr Moore and Mr Murray have had in this requesting you to get the copy returned, it cannot be from any fear of the sheets being an improper use of, our character we think answers for that point; If it be the terms we have offered, those gentlemen should know that France is not England and that our prices and our sales (particularly *ours*) are not to be compared with what they are in England. (December 19<sup>th</sup> 1829, MS.40504)

Stepping into his role as agent, Hall wrote to Murray from Paris to reassure him that no improper use of the sheets would be made by Galignani, which seems to have been Murray's concern: 'The whole of the intercourse which I have had with them on this matter satisfies me that they respect themselves and you and Mr Moore too much to suppose that their interest can by any means be served except by the most rigid adherence to fair dealing with you' (19<sup>th</sup> December 1829). Galignani's reverence towards Murray must have been enough to persuade him to allow them to proceed with the publication, for in 1830 Galignani's edition of Moore's *Life of Byron* appeared in Paris.

Although Murray at times seemed to resent the situation that Galignani put him in, they were still the most suitable of the French agents through which to sell his publications. Like Murray's Albemarle Street location, Galignani's premises were a key component of the attraction of the House to its readers. St Clair describes Galignani's as a 'home from home for the thousands of British who flocked to the continent as soon as it was reopened to private travel' (293).<sup>91</sup> Galignani's became a hub around which the ex-pat community gathered, providing daily English

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<sup>91</sup> The number of travellers 'flocking' to the Continent immediately after its re-opening in 1815 may be an over-exaggeration on St Clair's part when taking into account Buzard's estimation.

newspapers and a poste restante service. Galignani also attracted some famous visitors, such as Walter Scott, and kept a visitors' book, further contributing to the impression that Galignani's was the 'place to be seen', much like 50 Albemarle Street. The similarities between Murray and Galignani in this respect must have reduced Murray's displeasure at being forced to cooperate with any of the French Houses on grossly unequal terms.

Galignani's ability to attract the more upper-class traveller to his House was also appealing as Murray sought a distributor for his Handbooks in the late 1830s. To return to Buzard's distinction between traveller and tourist, Murray's use of Galignani as the French agency for the Handbooks would have further enhanced their appeal to the respectable 'traveller' who would be likely to frequent the rooms of Galignani's premises. In January 1836 Basil Hall, who was once again acting as intermediary between Galignani and Murray, wrote to Galignani with a formal offer of making them Murray's official French agency:

Mr Murray's chief aim in appointing a Paris agent is to protect himself from the injury he has hitherto suffered from foreign reprints of his publications – as a further means of preventing them in the future, he proposes to print (on inferior paper to the English editions) in order that the books may be sold at a less price expressly for the foreign market – a certain number of copies of all such works as [can be] calculated for extensive circulation abroad and he would be glad to be guided by your experience as to the selection of such works and the number which might be advantageously printed. He has decided on a small foreign edition of 7 works of considerable interest [...] he expects to be able to affix on them a price not exceeding one half of that of the London [...]. (MS.41911)

Murray's offer to print on 'inferior paper' was a generous concession when we consider the expense he had always taken to ensure the quality of his publications. Even the 'cheap' monthly editions of Byron and Crabbe were still to be printed in a



‘splendidly embellished’ fashion (Chapter Two). The realisation, however, that foreign re-prints of his publications would continue to undercut his profits must have prompted this response. Furthermore, although Murray talks of ‘inferior paper’ it can be assumed that this paper remained of superior quality to that employed by the French piracies. By re-taking command over his publications, Murray would at least be able to exercise some quality control over the books that carried his name. In addition, although Galignani’s publications were designed for compactness and legibility, the House nonetheless were concerned about the quality of their appearance; as an advertisement for the Standard Modern Novels and Romance series demonstrates, where it is stated that they would be ‘beautifully printed in 12mo., in a bold and clear type, on vellum paper and illustrated by engravings from designs of eminent artists’ (Barber, 272). In spite of perceived differences between the two Houses there was, therefore, some common ground between them.

A letter from Hall to Murray regarding Galignani’s reply to his offer of the agency, however, demonstrates the differences between the two Houses when it came to sales strategies. Although Hall was a prominent figure in the British publishing industry, he announced himself as a ‘convert’ (MS.40504, Folio 129) to Galignani’s distribution methods. Rather than focusing on trade discounts as a way to sell books, Galignani preferred to limit their initial investment in the publication of a work by producing them in a ‘cheaper shape’ than the original British editions. Although, as already postulated, Galignani’s advertising suggests that care was taken to ensure that their publications adhered to some standard of quality, Hall also tells Murray that, once in France, his House’s works are straightaway ‘thrown into French

types and printed on light French paper, and sent over the Continent in a way which your elegantly printed, wide spread, heavy papered English works could never follow or compete with' (MS.40504). The comparatively small initial outlay which Galignani expended in comparison to Murray was thereby considered by Hall to be a more resourceful way of approaching the French market, a realisation which Murray himself seemed to have acknowledged in his previous letter to Galignani when he offered to publish his works on 'inferior' paper. In spite of trade discounts not being the favoured method of making sales in France, Murray still sold books to Galignani in this way as the ledger books show (MS.42725, MS.42727), suggesting that both discounts and concessions on quality were needed to secure custom in the unregulated French marketplace.

### **Mariana Starke, 'Not Merely a Road-Book'**

Further on in his letter, Hall also informed Murray that: 'It is not, mind you, the real, solid, merit of a book, which determines its sale here and all the facts alluded to – but its fashion. Now all the fashionable books from Byron to B[illeg.] – from Trollope to Tremain are already reprinted, or will be so the moment they appear. But Herschell or Lyell – or your *War in Spain* – have no sort of chance.' The distinction that Hall makes between popular books and works of less general appeal, such as the history and science publications, is one that Murray noted. When offering the position of agency to Galignani, Murray was keen to discuss the terms of publication of his more 'fashionable' assets, such as Byron's works and the travel Handbooks. In January

1836 Murray also asked Galignani to sell Maria Starke's *Travels in Europe*, which was her expanded and revised version of *Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent* (1824). The inclusion of Starke's name in this list suggests that Starke's works were of sufficient value to Murray to ensure their protection from being exploited by the French market.

Starke's own idea of the worth of her books is clear from a letter she wrote to Murray in March 1814, offering him the publication of the second edition of her *Letters from Italy*. In her correspondence she talks of the additions she has made to the second edition, concluding that 'my itinerary is not merely a road-book, but likewise contains a classical account of the most celebrated works of art which adorn the Continent, and a statement of the present situation of France, Italy, Germany etc.' (MS.41151). Starke's own distinction between her work and 'mere road-books' is evocative of the traveller/tourist dichotomy, which Buzard identifies. Indeed, Starke's emphasis on a 'classical account' of Continental art is one of the primary discourses which differentiated publications like hers, including the aforementioned *Letters From Italy*, from other travel books directed at the tourist.

Current scholarship on the topic of Murray and travel tends to focus on the Handbooks without considering the publications that predated and informed the series. While Schaff's study engages with Buzard's tourist/traveller dichotomy (as it appears in the Handbooks, in particular the Italian Handbooks) her line of enquiry does not extend to earlier archival evidence that suggests the distinction was one already forged by Maria Starke's publications. While Starke's books did not contain the Byronic references which some of the Handbooks did, Murray's decision to

continue to promote them in Europe alongside his editions of Byron and the Handbooks suggests their value in promoting Murray's name abroad. The archival correspondence between Starke and Murray also constructs an illuminating picture of the upper class lifestyle Starke enjoyed on the Continent. Thus, although not containing the same overt references to the Romantic poets which the Handbooks did, Starke's works still promoted the aristocratic lifestyle of the Grand Tour, inviting the reader to identify with the 'anti-touristic gestures' (Schaff 106) which the Handbooks made, as they transported the essence of 'drawing room culture' abroad, with Galignani's reading rooms being a ready-made market for such publications.

In 1814, Starke first wrote to Murray with the intention of securing his interest in the publication of the second edition of *Letters From Italy*. Although Murray did not accept Starke's request, her letters at this time contain many ideas pertaining to the structure and content of her work, which, it might be suggested, later formed the basis for the Handbooks. In a letter dated March 13<sup>th</sup> 1814, Starke informs Murray that the second edition of *Letters From Italy* is based upon her own observations and other 'modern travellers'. In addition to the epistolary passages of her first edition, there is also the attempt to make the book more practical by including 'an excellent post-map of Europe, and a plate, representing a particularly convenient kind of travelling carriage, which may always be procured on the Continent' (MS.41511). At the end of this letter is the addendum that *Letters From Italy* 'is not merely a road-book, but likewise contains a classical account of the most celebrated works of art.' Starke's conflation of practical information, offset by passages of upper class travellers experiencing the ancient cultural and historical

landmarks of Italy, demonstrates that, as far back as 1814, the tourist/traveller dichotomy was being consciously constructed.

The distinction between the two was again made by Starke during later communications with Murray. In a letter from August 1822, Starke persuades Murray not to abandon the classical elements, which differentiated her work from other travel guides. This is worthy of note as, had Murray proceeded with his initial desire, the very discourse which would later set the Handbooks apart and the accolades which Starke received for her work,<sup>92</sup> which no doubt helped to promote Murray's reputation in the travel genre, would have been lost at this early stage.

Starke writes:

I feel so anxious to convince you of the propriety of my determination not to change the form of my work that I send (though I can ill spare it) the best and most popular *Manuel de Voyager* I ever met with (Reichard excepted) for your inspection: I likewise send one of the numerous editions of the *Itinerario Italiano*; which, with all its maps, costs *only one dollar*, and I add to these books the first volume of the Roman Guide and also the Florence Guide; of which guides enquiring travellers are in the habit of purchasing three or four, in every capital city in the Continent. From all this I mean to confer that if my work were converted into a mere road book it would cease to be bought in Italy at the expense of six or eight dollars; when the very best road book of that country costs but one dollar: neither would it be bought in France, for the same reason. But while it remains in its present form, it saves travellers the expense of purchasing guides for capital cities, and their galleries of sculpture and painting, by pointing out, and giving an accurate and classical description of the antiquities etc. which those cities contain. (MS.41511)

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<sup>92</sup> In a letter dated January 15<sup>th</sup> 1831 Starke writes to Murray, 'Do you know the *Foreign Literary Reviewers*? It would be a great advantage to my work would they, who have mentioned the early editions with peculiar liberality and indulgence, condescend to peruse the supplement I have just printed; which is written, in conformity with their advice, to enable Travellers to cultivate 'the rich field of enquiry' presented to them by the Campagna di Roma.'

As the above letters suggest, Starke was keenly aware of the market within which her works were being sold. By including the classical elements, which differentiated her work, she suggests that it will be able to command a higher price than the cheap guide-books already available on the Continent. Again, this was a strategy that Murray later used for the Handbooks.

Throughout their later correspondence Starke continued to suggest the ways in which she and Murray could carve out a section of the travel book market for their brand of writing. In a letter dated March 4<sup>th</sup> 1824 Starke communicated to Murray that she had received a letter from an acquaintance in Berlin, telling her to include the routes through Munich, Ratisbon, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Berlin and Dresden. The reason for this was that ‘these routes cannot be found in any of the continental guides for travellers, although most of our young men who make what is called the Grand Tour wish to visit the above named cities on their return to England’ (MS.41511). Starke’s direct reference to the travellers of the Grand Tour clearly states the readership she was aiming her books at. In another letter to Murray in February 1825, Starke recounts how she had employed the services of ‘a very accomplished scholar’ who could provide notes on the German routes, while she herself was researching the ancient Forum Romanum, the Circus of Caracalla, and the antiquities at the Vatican Museum. The time Starke spent on collecting such materials further suggests the educative purposes she intended her work to serve. Care was also taken to provide illustrations of a high quality, such as an engraving of the Forum Romanum. As with many of the ideas which were incorporated into her works, the organisation of the illustrations was also Starke’s idea: ‘I took care to have the plate

of a proper size for the book, and likewise to get it well executed; for I consider it as the most valuable of my additions' (MS.41511).

While Starke travelled around the Continent collecting information for her travel books it is evident that she was also enjoying the lifestyle that accompanied such upper class travelling. In April 1829 she writes to Murray from Albani, Rome:

The British colony here at present is reported to consist of full fifteen hundred persons; among whom many are of exalted rank, and very few unknown: and as all the ambassadors have opened their palaces this year to travellers of every nation, in a most liberal manner, our Carnival would have been particularly brilliant but for the death of the sovereign pontiff: which event, though not much deplored, put an end to gaiety for a time. Lately, however, Lady Westmoreland and I have given balls and tableaux; the latter in conjunction; and owing to the exquisite taste and skill which she manages these beautiful and difficult works of art, our tableaux have succeeded perfectly. The consort of the Grand Duke Michael, a very [pleas]ing young lady who was educated by our late Prince Royal, had heard so much of the above-mentioned tableaux that she requested us to let her see one of them.

As at Galignani's in Paris, parts of Rome became a meeting point for British travellers and ex-patriots. Starke's gatherings became well known throughout Rome to the point where uninvited guests were arriving at her balls. In September 1827 she wrote to Murray to request that he remove the advertisement in her works inviting the public to contact her with suggestions for the content of future publications. 'I mention this', Starke wrote, 'because persons I am not anxious to number among my acquaintances avail themselves of the paragraph for the sake of dinners and balls I am in the habit of giving on the Continent: and at my last ball, given at Rome, I lost a considerable quantity of plate, supposed to have been pocketed by British swindlers' (MS.41511). As with Albemarle Street, Starke had created a drawing room culture, which many aspired to, but to which few were actually invited, and transferred it

abroad. Her travel books became a gateway to this lifestyle, being used by those who wished to momentarily catch a glimpse of the riches of the upper class life from which they were normally excluded.

When it came to disseminating the works, Starke also played a leading role. The more formally agreed networks which would later be used to sell the Handbooks in Europe were not available during the 1820s, presumably because there was not as large a demand for travel books on the Continent as there would be during the 1830s when the beginning of mass tourism was emerging. Instead, Starke made arrangements with small European booksellers. In February 1822 she speaks of ‘the English Merchant at Naples, on whom I can safely depend for dispersing my work throughout Italy.’ A letter from 1825 suggests that this proved to be a beneficial relationship as she writes ‘Mr Reynolds, the Commission Merchant at Naples to whom I consigned between thirty and forty copies of the last edition of my guide for travellers on this continent writes me word that all his copies are sold; and that if he had twenty-five more sent out immediately he might probably be able to sell them all in the course of the summer.’ Then, in November 1827, Starke wrote from Rome with the news that she had found further sellers in Calais and Florence and that ‘all the booksellers here are most anxious for a considerable number of copies’ (MS.41511).

In this letter Starke also communicated the more worrying news that she had found Galignani’s pirated editions of her *Directions and Information for Travellers* in ‘every great booksellers’ shop throughout France, Switzerland, Northern and Southern Italy [...] and the booksellers tell me they are going to print an edition of



my *Direction for Travellers* in Italian; this, however, I will try to prevent' (MS.41511). In February 1832, Murray was further concerned by a letter he had received from Starke wherein she had said that Galignani intended to include a map of Modern Italy in her latest edition. This 'created considerable alarm' (MS.41909) for Murray as he had only agreed to print Starke's revised edition to prevent it being given to Galignani. In a letter to Starke, Murray explains that 'by distributing the edition between the two capitals you dispose of it in half the time, and have the means of making the work perfect almost from year to year, and even more valuable to travellers than it already is. Mr Murray has applied for permission to re-engrave Cramer's map, and I dare say an arrangement might be made with Galignani respecting it also' (MS.41909). From this it appears that it was not Starke's intention to print the edition in Paris which troubled Murray, as this is an idea which he himself then suggests, but, rather, that it was Starke's and Galignani's close relationship that was troubling him.

A further letter from Starke to Murray indicates that his reaction towards her communications with Galignani was unexpected:

Mr Murray's alarm at hearing of Galignani's intention to accompany the Paris edition of my new work with a map, rather surprises me; especially as I told Mr Murray, when last I saw him, that Galignani had sold every copy of the Paris edition of my preceding work, and consequently felt impatient to print an edition of my new work, as soon as Mr Murray had published it: and having sold all his copies at or nearly at, the London price, he was willing to put himself to the expense of a map. (February 20<sup>th</sup> 1832, MS.41511)

Indeed, the overall tone of the letter is one of disbelief that Murray would underestimate the power of the French market to reprint her work if they did not formally assign it to an agent. As she continues:

I have reason to believe, from what Galignani wrote to me respecting his map, that it is in great forwardness, I do not believe he will think it consistent with his interest to forgo printing a Paris edition of my new work: and as to having only one edition of a book which accompanies every traveller on the continent (and which will now be as useful to scientific persons as to those who either travel to promote health or save money) I am afraid that, however desirable it may be to Mr Murray, and indeed to me, the love of gain will induce other Continental Booksellers, beside Galignani to print editions of their own.

The relationship between Murray and Starke remained fraught over the subject of the French edition. In April 1832 Starke wrote to Murray to say that she would permit Galignani to publish *Travel in Europe, to which is added an account of the Remains of Ancient Italy* if Murray did not print the work, which she had been expecting to appear since the previous October. Starke ends the letter saying ‘you will please to observe that I still wish to give you the opportunity of producing my new work in London before its appearance at Paris; that is, provided you make no needless delay after receiving this letter’ (MS.41511).

Starke’s willingness to drop Murray as her publisher in favour of Galignani suggests how important the European market was becoming for the sale of British works. While pirated copies had always been popular, Galignani’s offer to invest in the production of Starke’s works suggests that trade courtesies were also becoming increasingly standardised as a way for the French publisher to gain control over British works before any other agent. Murray’s formal agreement in 1836, where he offered Galignani the agency of his Handbooks and Starke’s volumes can be interpreted as his acknowledgement of the power of the French House to sell his travel books. It is worth noting that this agreement was made in 1836, at a time when only one Handbook, *The Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, had been

published. Therefore not yet able to foresee the Handbooks' success, it seems that the primary asset that Murray was seeking to protect was Starke, who had provided the blueprint for the Handbook series, yet whose name was to become overshadowed by that series during the later decades.

### **The Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library**

The Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library are two of Murray's series to have attracted notable critical attention. For the Home and Colonial Library, Angus Fraser has provided a detailed overview of the series, discussing its conception, production, marketing, dissemination and reception.<sup>93</sup> For the Handbooks, Schaff has written on the production, advertising, distribution and cultural impact of the series.<sup>94</sup> More specifically, Schaff has also explored the function of the literary references in the Italian Handbooks.<sup>95</sup> Goodwin and Johnston have provided an overview of the Handbooks' development and reception throughout the nineteenth century, using statistical analysis to identify the financial highs and lows of the series.<sup>96</sup>

It is interesting to note, however, that no study has considered the relationship between the Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library (the publication of

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<sup>93</sup> 'John Murray's Colonial and Home Library.' 1997.

<sup>94</sup> 'Sound Information and Innocent Amusement: John Murray's Books on the Move.' 2011.

<sup>95</sup> 'John Murray's Handbooks to Italy: Making Tourism Literary.' 2009.

<sup>96</sup> 'Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century: John Murray's Handbooks for Travellers.' 2013.

which overlapped during the 1840s) in relation to Murray's re-branding of Byron for the Continental reader. Schaff has explored the relationship between the Handbooks and the Railway Reading series, suggesting that both series were used to target the 'same class of consumer' (227). Schaff also mentions the relation between the Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library, but this is not a line of enquiry which she follows. When one considers that the publication of the Home and Colonial Library coincided with that of the Handbooks in the 1840s, and were both published in similar formats designed for travel, it seems to be an investigation worthy of pursuit. The exploration of the Railway Reading series at the expense of the Home and Colonial Library may be due to the publication of some of Byron's works in the former series.<sup>97</sup> The over emphasis on Byron to signify anti-touristic gestures, however, can become problematic, leading one to overlook the other factors which helped differentiate the Murray reader abroad.

Schaff's and Buzard's argument that the incorporation of Byron into the Handbooks enabled the reader to identify with the authenticity and sublimity of the Romantic poet, thereby differentiating their travelling experience from the commoditised tourism that was invading the terrain formerly seen as the preserve of the upper class traveller, is a compelling one. By the 1840s, however, the 'Byronic aura' which Buzard suggests 'held out the promise of making Continental experience "live", of saturating it anew' (117) would not have had the same potency as it did during Byron's lifetime. Between 1824 and 1836, the year in which the first

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<sup>97</sup> *The Beauties of Byron's Poetry and Prose* (1853), and *Childe Harold* (1851) were published in the Railway Reading series (Schaff 229).

Handbook was published, Byron's legacy had been devalued by biographers and redefined by Murray's own 'cheap' series of the 1830s, and the European pirates who had made Byron accessible to all classes. While Byron may still have evoked some of the Romantic discourse that Buzard identifies, it was a discourse that had already been recycled and cheapened through its incorporation in other publications. In this context, the use of Byron in the Handbooks may not have quite the same authenticating effect on the traveller as first thought.

The emphasis on the Byronic discourse that permeates some of the Handbooks was only one small part of a prolific series. The advertisements, which framed the main section of each Handbook, were equally important in constructing the class identity that underpinned the tourist/traveller dichotomy. References to Murray's own Home and Colonial Library appeared regularly, further suggesting the interplay between the two series. For a series that was designed to be read alongside the Handbooks, as suggested by Murray's use of European agencies within geographical proximity of one another to sell the Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library,<sup>98</sup> and the similar size of both series' books which were designed to be easily transported,<sup>99</sup> one might expect some of Byron's publications to be included in the Home and Colonial Library if the poet was being used to distinguish

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<sup>98</sup> In a letter to M. Karl Jugel of Frankfurt, dated May 26<sup>th</sup> 1840, Murray offers the bookseller some of the Handbooks to be sold (MS.41911, folio 141). Another letter is sent to Perthes, Bessen and Mauche of Hamburg, dated November 24<sup>th</sup> 1843, offering them the German agency for the Home and Colonial Library (MS.41911, folio 130). For a series that purported to educate the colonies, these letters suggest that the Continental traveller was also the library's intended readership.

<sup>99</sup> The Home and Colonial Library books were described in their promotional catalogue as 'compact and portable [...], the bulk of which does not exceed the compass of a single shelf, or of one trunk.' (*The Athenaeum*, March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1851, 317).

Murray's travellers from other tourists. Although Murray owned the copyrights, and the reprinting of Byron in the Library would have been a comparatively cheap undertaking for him, he instead published lesser-known titles, rather than Byron's works.

Murray's decision to not publish his celebrity titles may have been deliberate when one remembers Hall's letter to him explaining that only 'fashionable' books were of interest to the French pirates. Indeed, the saturation of Byron's works throughout the 1820s and 1830s on the Continent by the pirate publishers meant that his works were already widely available, and had escaped Murray's control for some time. What we see with the Home and Colonial Library, then, is a move *away* from Byron and the Romantic/celebrity culture that had defined Murray II's era. Instead, there is a focus on British history, military battles, and travel journals, by such names as George Borrow, Lord Mahon, Richard Ford, and Francis Bond Head. The dedication of the series to William Gladstone also associated the Library with a political/empirical discourse, which ran as a counterpoint to the Romantic celebrity that had promoted the House in Byron's day.

Rather than differentiating the Murray traveller by aligning them with the 'aura' and authenticity of the Romantic discourse embodied by Byron, the commoditisation and replication of Byron's works and image by this point may actually have cheapened the traveller's credibility. The distinction between tourist/traveller which Murray had already been engaged with in the form of Starke's works, appears to offer a discourse more firmly grounded in the Grand Tour style of travelling, which may have provided a greater sense of authenticity and class

supremacy than the evocation of Byron. This would also explain why Murray was so keen to retain control over Starke's work on the Continent, as discussed above. The emphasis on classicism and education which is evident in Starke's works was later present in the titles selected for the Home and Colonial Library, which are listed in Appendix Six. As can be seen, the vast majority of titles could be viewed as a Grand Tour in a box, taking the reader on a journey through British and foreign history, promoting imperial values in addition to the remnants of Romantic celebrity found in the Handbooks.

### Conclusion

As this thesis has sought to demonstrate, the 1820s-1840s was a transitional period for the House of Murray. Byron, who had provided the House with much financial and symbolic capital during his lifetime, died in 1824, marking the end of an era for Murray. That era had, I suggest, begun for Murray when he moved from Fleet Street to Albemarle Street in 1812, signifying his transition from bookselling to publishing. This transformation was significantly enhanced by his Albemarle Street drawing room which, through its classical portraits and opulent bookshelves, constructed the prestige and exclusivity which would continue to define the House even after Byron's death.

As the literary marketplace became increasingly commercialised from the 1820s onwards, Murray used the authenticity connoted by Byron's 'genius', and the exclusivity connoted by the drawing room lifestyle, as trademarks of quality to differentiate his House from those which catered to lower and middle class readerships. This enabled Murray to appeal to the top strata of the middle class, who aspired to the lifestyle his House represented, through the publication of 'cheaper' works which nonetheless retained these trademarks of quality. Although Murray did not react as speedily as other publishers to this market, notably Constable and Charles Knight, he did begin to take the rise of cheap literature more seriously, even considering how to refashion the *Quarterly Review* so that it would appeal to the growing newspaper and magazine market. Although the Family Library series has been identified by Lee Erickson (149) and Scott Bennett (141) as Murray's response



to the broader movement by publishers in the 1820s to provide series of works at more accessible prices, it was the monthly editions of Byron's works which gave Murray the most financial success during this time, in addition to enabling him to exercise his control over the Byronic legacy as he saw fit. This control had been tested by the publication of Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824), the correspondence surrounding which reveals the importance of Byron and Murray's inner circle to his ongoing success and reputation.

The inner circle, which was comprised of Murray's most revered authors, *Quarterly Review* contributors, and 'sporadic advisers', was predicated on class distinctions and members' connections to the fields of literature and politics. Murray's attitude towards those who were inculcated into this coveted group and those who were not, remained consistent, irrespective of gender. Although Elizabeth Rundell was Murray's best-selling female author she was not invited to socialise at Albemarle Street, her limited social circle being of no use to Murray. By contrast, Mary Somerville, who was well connected to luminaries from a number of fields, received the accolade of having her portrait painted for the drawing room. As discussed, both authors were, to an extent, defined by their gender, but this was only one part of a more complex author-publisher relationship. The different treatment by Murray towards his female authors suggests that the study of them cannot be approached under the umbrella term of 'women's writing' and should, while there are archival materials to do so, be approached on a case-by-case basis that takes into consideration a range of factors in addition to that of gender.

During the 1830s, Murray III played an increasingly prominent role in maintaining and redefining the House's identity, an identity which he shaped through his involvement with the broadening of the House's channels of dissemination, both domestically and internationally, and through the Handbooks and the Home and Colonial Library series. The transition between Murray II and Murray III was, in many ways, characterised by continuity, with Murray III continuing to use his father's primary asset, Byron, in the Handbooks, and later in the Railway Reading series. Murray III's first publishing venture away from the oversight of his father, however, was the Home and Colonial Library, a collection of history, military, and travel works, which departed from the Romanticism of Byron, and indicated the path which the House would continue to follow from the 1840s onwards.

Upon succeeding his father, Murray III was reminded by one of his acquaintances that '[Murray II] has indeed left you a rich inheritance, not only by his successful example in business and a wide circle of friends, but also in that good name which is better than all riches. He lived in a fortunate period – his own name is inseparably connected with one of the brightest eras of English Literature' (MS.41029). The 'good name' of Murray II was indeed associated with 'one of the brightest eras of English Literature', and most notably Byron, one of its brightest stars. Although Murray recognised the importance of Byron to his House ('my name is connected with your fame'), he was adept in reusing it throughout the 1820s and 1840s to (re)establish the House in new markets, along with the many other authors who contributed financially, symbolically, or both, to the name that was 'John Murray.'

### Appendix One

Chart showing the numbers of Murray publications belonging to each price bracket, 1824-1834:

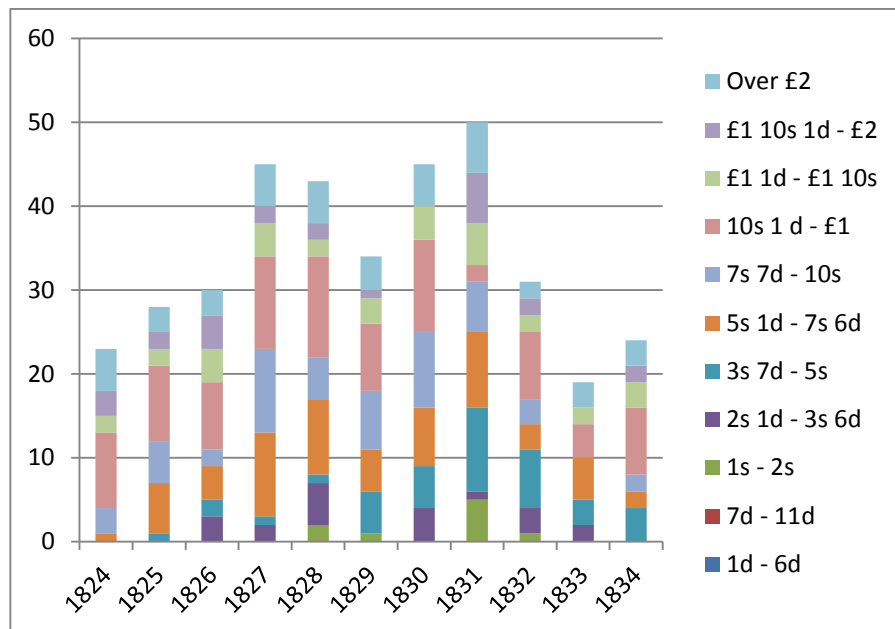
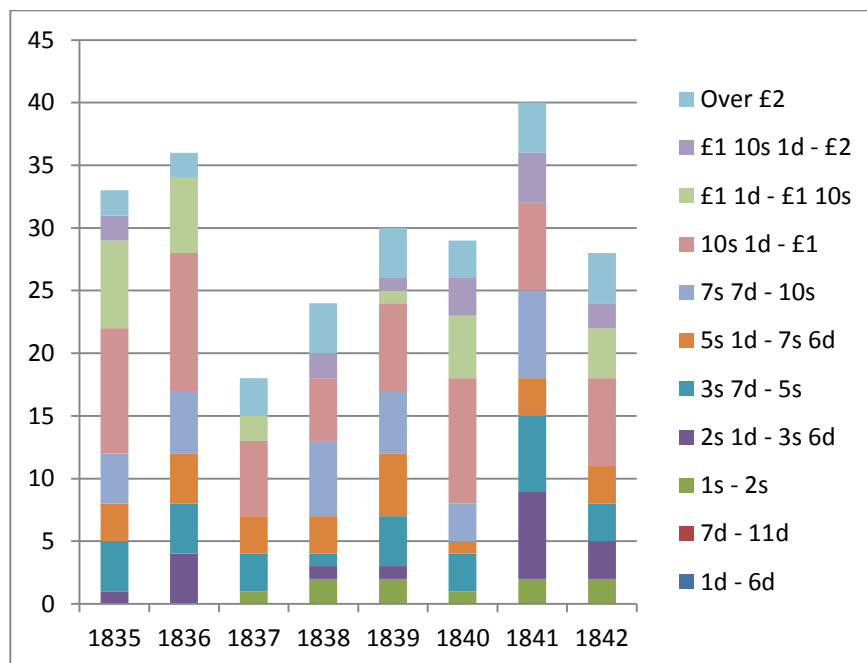


Chart showing price ranges, 1835-1842:



## Appendix Two

Chart showing genres, 1824-1834:

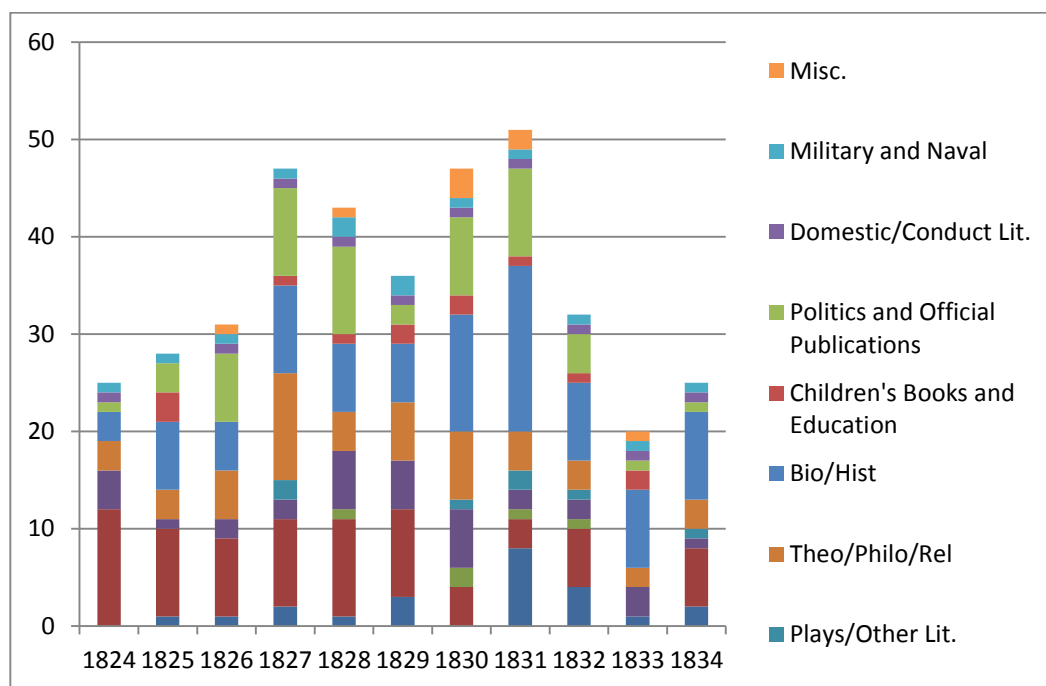


Chart showing genres, 1835-1842:

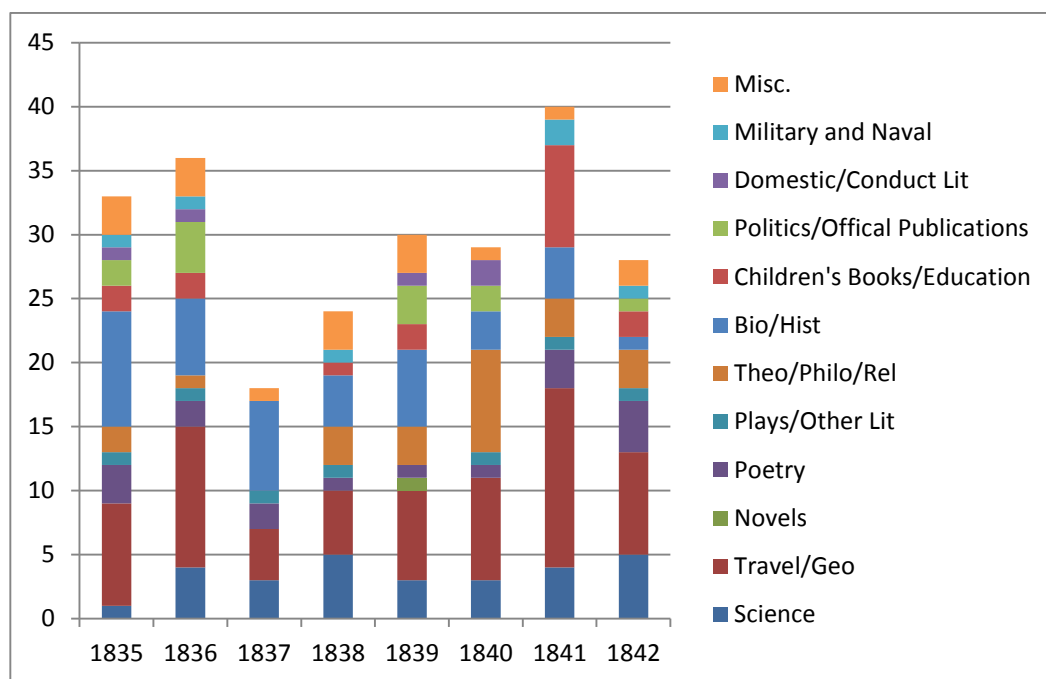


Chart showing the format for one volume publications, 1824-1834:

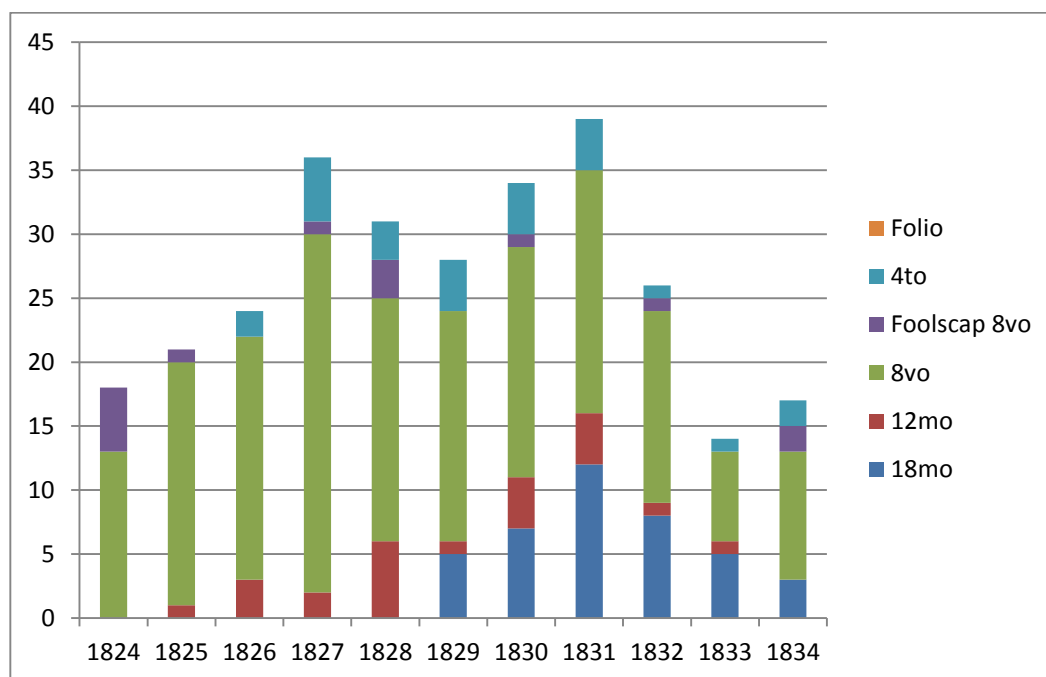
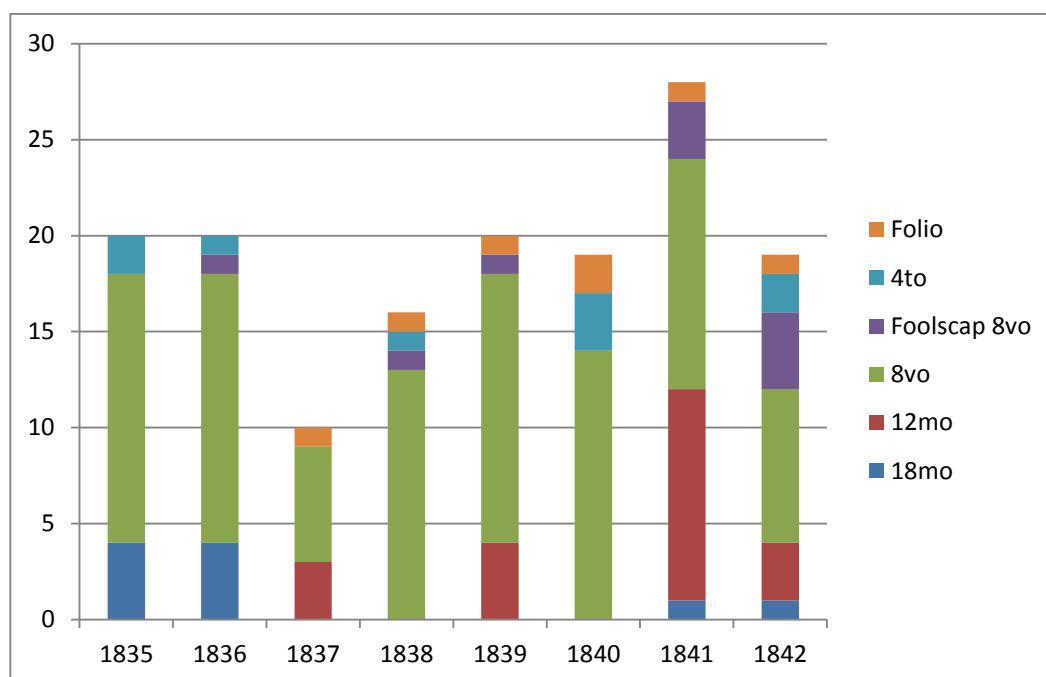


Chart showing the format for one volume publications, 1835-1842:



### Appendix Three

MS. 42452 – Lockhart to Murray, August 1838

The multitude of new journals, lighter in form and more frequent in appearance, has rendered it extremely difficult for any *Quarterly* to keep its ground. We have lost all chance of being the usual herald of mere novelties to the readers of our great cities. We must look to the country, where our chances of maintaining [...] influence lies, and I wish both you and I were more frequently enabled to watch the reception of particular numbers and articles among the mass of gentry and clergy who really read, learn, and inwardly digest. I am conscious that when living among the diners of London I am too apt to adopt their table talk for my measure of what is not telling. Their talk on any topic lasts but for a wink and they will scarcely talk of anything that demands thought and does not seem made for mere diversion. We share their patronage with the meretricious novel or the smart newspaper squib of the hour [...]. This kind of success, therefore, I cannot believe to be the thing on which we should mainly and habitually rest our ambition [...]. On the other hand, we must feel that our influence on many subjects, even of the gravest kind, with the gravest people, depends to a very great extent in the belief that the *Quarterly* is written and edited not by recluses, but by men of the world. We must, to keep up this impression, show on all occasions knowledge of what is the tone and thought and feeling in the highest and best society of London on subjects of all classes – light as well as grave. We ought to appear as having unlimited sympathy with society [...]. It has long been my wish and plan that the *Quarterly* should take up profession after profession and pursuit after pursuit, and consider no topic as out of its way in which any lay class of our countryman find a lovely interest. I should like it to be a running panorama of English life and thought and manners [...]. We have large means within our reach. The vast mass of intelligence is on our side and we may bring a thousand resources into play that we have not yet approached if we do but keep up our hearts and be steady to the end we clearly have in view.

[...] We are a nation of parties. The *Quarterly* by its hold on the Conservatives, commands the eager attention of their opponents. Society is to an immeasurable extent under the influence of party. The leaders of parties are also the leaders of society [...]. But then to have this kind of breath in our sails we must command it. Give them no support and they will find or create something else for them I suppose and try if they can to sink you: but depend upon them for existence – make yourself their regular subservient tool and flatterer, and they will despise you. Observe – the

Tories are a divided party. If we look wholly to one section of them, the other would endeavour at least to get up a rival machinery. By standing above their internal disputes and jealousies, we may hope to overawe them.

[...] Whether you look to London – to the country clergy and gentry – to circle of politicians – or to the rising generation of educated men and women, it needs a large and liberal consideration of circumstances to understand the difficulties of conducting such a machine as the *Quarterly*. No one number, no two numbers, should be allowed to determine our judgement on any one part of our scheme. Take up a volume or two of a year [...] and read them carefully and compare them with others of recent date and see whether the leading ideas have not been animating or guiding us. No one can be more [...] aware than I am that we have never done what we ought to have done, and might do – yet I think the right course has been in the main adhered to. We seem to have lost none of our ground with any considerable division of our countrymen, and I think we have, by various degrees, enlisted various, not incompatible classes heretofore alien to us.

[...] Forgive me for saying that you are too apt to talk of an unseen article as ‘of no use to your review.’ For example, Listers Clarendon, I read enough of this book to see that it is an elaborate [...] attempt to connect the misdeeds, real or alleged, of the Calveen’s of Charles I [...]. Such a review of such a book as might be done by Mr Croker would in my opinion be the most serious and invaluable use of the *Quarterly*. Let us see the article [...]. It might be made equally academic for the political reader – for the historical student – for the clergyman – the young academic – and my lady’s gossiping circle.

## **Appendix Four**

### **Croker to Lockhart, Jan 25<sup>th</sup> 1842**

I have never known anything about the sale of the *Quarterly*, nor can I guess what may affect it. Prima facie, a falling off in the market looks like a falling off in the manufacture – but there may be other causes. So far as I am concerned, I think the best, and the most likely to have been generally acceptable articles I have ever written, have been within the period of deflation which you mention [...]. On the whole, I attribute the greatest part of deflation to a change of task and circumstances, the great number of rivals, not only in the format shape of reviews, but all the magazines are now reviews – the vast extension of clubs – the trashy character of the literature of the day – some entirely on the essay style of reviewing – and perhaps some deficiency on our own parts, of our pristine vigour and rarity – yet where are you to look for younger and stronger hands? Even in politics, the reform revolution has been now more than a dozen years in operation, and not one more, except Follett, has in all that time, risen to any eminence, who was not already in Parliament before 1830. No new lights in politics, no new lights in general literature, are we to be surprised that there are no new lights in reviewing? If you or Murray see any, for God's sake, enlist – nay, press them into the service – but I, alas, neither know nor hear of any. But with your present machinery, I can advise you nothing more likely to succeed than your own hint as to dedicating a longer space to pure literature; and I would add a little more variety, shorter articles and of a more general character, so as to make the review a manual of the current literature of the day where people for 6s may find [...] ten pounds worth of solid volumes. I would also suggest that we are deficient of late in scientific articles – both deep and popular – the public mind is much turned that way, particularly to popular and practical science [...]. On all these subjects we have been very sparing of information, and I am confident you would not make a great acquisition than one or two contributors in these lines.



## **Appendix Five**

### **MS.42155 – Charles Dickens to Murray**

7<sup>th</sup> July 1842:

You may perhaps be aware that during my stay in America I lost no opportunity of endeavouring to awaken the public mind to a sense of the unjust and iniquitous state of the law in that country, in reference to the wholesale piracy of British works.

Having been successful in making the subject one of general discussion in the United States, I carried to Washington, for presentation to Congress by Mr Clay, a petition from the whole body of American authors, earnestly praying for the enactment of an International Copyright Law. It was signed by Mr Washington Irving, Mr Prescott, Mr Cooper, and every man who has distinguished himself in the literature of America; and has since been referred to a Select Committee of the House of Representatives.

To counteract any effect which might be produced by that petition, a meeting was held in Boston – which you will remember is the seat and stronghold of learning and letters in the United States – at which a memorial against any change in the existing state of things in this respect was agreed to, with but one dissenting voice. This document, which, incredible as it may appear to you, was actually forwarded to Congress, and received, deliberately stated that if English authors were invested with any control over the republication of their own books, it would be no longer possible for American editors to alter and adopt them (as they do now) to the American taste!

This memorial was, without loss of time, replied to by Mr Prescott, who commented with the natural indignation of a gentleman, and a Man of Letters, upon its extraordinary dishonesty. I am satisfied that this brief mention of its tone and spirit is sufficient to impress you with the conviction that it becomes all those who are in any way connected with the Literature of England to take that high stand, to which the nature of their pursuits and the extent of their sphere of usefulness, justly entitle them; to discourage the upholders of such doctrines by every means in their power; and to hold themselves aloof from the remotest participation in a system from which the moral sense and honourable feeling of all just men must instinctively recoil.

For myself, I have resolved that I will never from this time enter into any negotiation with any person for the transmission, across the Atlantic, of early proofs of any thing I may write; and that I will forgo all profit desirable from such a source, and to lay great stress upon the necessity of observing one other course of action: to which I cannot emphatically call [sic] your attention.

The persons who exert themselves to mislead the American public on this question; to put down its discussion; and to suppress and distort the truth in reference to it, in every possible way; are (as you may easily suppose) those who have a strong interest in the existing system of piracy and plunder; in as much, so long as it

continues, they can gain a very comfortable living out of the brains of other men, while they would find it very difficult to earn bread by the exercise of their own. There are the editors and proprietors of newspapers almost exclusively devoted to the republication of popular English works. They are, for the most part, men of very low attainments and of more than indifferent reputation; and I have frequently seen them, in the same sheet in which they boast of the rapid sale of many thousand copies of an English reprint, coarsely and insolently attacking the author of that very book, and heaping scurrility and slander upon his head.

I would therefore entreat you, in the name of the honourable pursuit with which you are so intimately connected, never to hold correspondence with any of these men, and never to negotiate with them for the sale of early proofs of any work over which you have control; but to treat, on all occasions, with some respectable American publishing house, and with such an establishment only.

## **Appendix Six**

The following publications are the titles which appeared in the Home and Colonial Library series. The dates refer to the year in which they were first published in the series. The list is arranged in chronological order of publication. Angus Fraser in 'John Murray's Home and Colonial Library' (pp.396-408) provides a more detailed account of the exact date, number of copies and profit or loss made by Murray on each title.

George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain* (1842)

Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India* (1843)

Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and the Holy Land* (1844)

Captain John Drinkwater, *A History of the Siege of Gibraltar* (1844)

John H. Drummond Hay, *Western Barbary: Its Wild Tribes and Savage Animals* (1844)

Lady Eastlake, *Letters from the Shores of the Baltic* (1844)

Mary Schweidler, *The Amber Witch* (1844)

Robert Southey, *Select Lives of Cromwell and Bunyan* (1844)

Louisa Anne Meredith, *Notes and Sketches of New South Wales* (1844)

John Barrow, *The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Sir Francis Drake* (1844)

Father Matteo Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa, during Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China* (1844)

Matthew Gregory Lewis, *Journal of a Residence among the Negroes in the West Indies* (1844)

Sir John Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia; or, The Manners and Customs of the Persians* (1845)

Lady Duff Gordon, *The French in Algiers* (1845)

Washington Irving, *Bracebridge Hall* (1845)

Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited during the Voyage of H.M.S Beagle* (1845)

Count Alexis de Saint-Priest, *History of the Fall of the Jesuits* (1845)

- Lord Mahon, *The Life of Louis Prince of Condé* (1845)
- George Borrow, *The Zincali; or, An Account of the Gypsies of Spain* (1845)
- Herman Melville, *Narrative of a Four Month Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands* (1846)
- Lady Eastlake, *Livonian Tales* (1846)
- Joseph Abbott, *Philip Musgrave; or, Memoirs of a Church of England Missionary in the North American Colonies* (1846)
- George Robert Gleig, *Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan* (1846)
- Julia Charlotte Maitland, *Letters from Madras* (1846)
- Charles W.G. St. John, *Short Sketches of the Wild Sorts and Natural History of the Highlands* (1846)
- Sir Francis Bond Head, *Rough Notes Taken during some Rapid Journeys across the Pampas and the Andes* (1846)
- Richard Ford, *Gatherings from Spain* (1847)
- Karl August Schimmer, *The Sieges of Vienna by Turks* (1847)
- Sir Alexander Duff Gordon, *Sketches of German Life* (1847)
- Herman Melville, *Omoo* (1847)
- George Robert Gleig, *The Story of the Battle of Waterloo* (1847)
- William Henry Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon* (1847)
- Edward Augustus Milman, *The Wayside Cross* (1847)
- Charles Acland, *A Popular Account of the Manners and Customs of India* (1847)
- George Robert Gleig, *The Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans* (1847)
- George F.A. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (1847)
- Earl of Carnarvon, *Portugal and Galicia* (1848)
- George Robert Gleig, *The Life of Robert, First Lord Clive* (1848)
- Henry William Haygarth, *Recollections of Bush Life in Australia* (1848)
- Heinrich Steffens, *Adventures on the Road to Paris* (1848)
- Washington Irving, *Tales of a Traveller* (1848)

Thomas Campbell, *An Essay on English Poetry; with Notices of the British Poets* (1848)

Lord Mahon, *Historical Essays by Lord Mahon contributed to The Quarterly Review* (1848)

Sir Francis Bond Head, *The London and the North-Western Railway* (1849)

Bayle St. John, *Adventures in the Libyan Desert* (1849)

Elizabeth Melville, *A Residence in Sierra Leone* (1849)

George Robert Gleig, *Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Moore* (1849)

Charles Buxton, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton* (1849)

Washington Irving, *Oliver Goldsmith: A Biography* (1849)

**Figure One**

A watercolour of the drawing room at 50 Albemarle Street, by L. Werner, c.1850. I would like to thank John Murray, London, for granting me permission to reproduce this image.

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